VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE, FIRST TRUE SCULPTURE OF MOTION.

THE SCIENCE-HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSE

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THE SCIENCE-HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSE

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THE SCIENCE-HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSE

VOLUME IX

ART

By B. S. WOOLF

LITERATURE

By FRANCIS ROLT-WHEELER

INTRODUCTION

By EDWARD J. WHEELER

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INTRODUCTION

ART and Literature, when traced back to their beginnings, are seen to have had a common origin and a common purpose. The "Literature" of the primitive man consisted of pictures, and in the Art of the primitive man may be found the beginnings of our alphabets. The common purpose was to transmit, through the eye, facts, ideas and emotions. Art has remained, one might say, static. It has aimed to fix the fleeting moment, the evanescent present, in imperishable lines and colors. Literature has been dynamic. It has dealt with the sequence of facts and ideas, the changes and fluxes of the world. The picture became the pictograph, the pictograph became the hieroglyph, the hieroglyph became the letter.

It was only when the letter linked itself to the sounds of the human voice rather than to the images of the human eye that Literature may be said to have achieved its real birth. From that day on, Art and Literature have traveled by widely different roads. Literature at once became sophisticated; Art remained unsophisticated. The simplest of words is a series of arbitrary symbols of sound, and these series of sounds become symbols of objects, acts, ideas and emotions. The appeal made by Art is immediate and direct. The appeal made by Literature is mediate and

indirect. One must learn to read; one is not required to learn to see pictures. The rudiments of the one have been possessed, in the ages past, by a select few. The rudiments of the other are in the possession of all but the blind.

Literature has been called "the art preservative of all arts." In the very broadest possible sense everything that is written or printed may be termed Literature—a demonstration in Euclid, a physician's prescription, an order to buy or sell stocks, as well as Shelley's "Skylark" or Milton's "Lycidas." In the broadest possible sense also the word Art may be made to include charts, diagrams and the crudest of sketches and implements. For in all times Art and Literature have been made the handmaids of all the sciences, trades and professions.

What we usually mean, however, when we speak of Art and Literature with no modifying phrases is the Art or the Literature that is no longer in bondage to trade or science or domestic economy, but is the free expression of human personality; that is to say, creative Art, creative Literature. In this distinctive sense they are limited only by the nature of the medium in which they work. They are not handmaids, but mistresses; they are not bond, but free; they are not apprentices, but masters. That is to say, they have their own purpose and they are at liberty to follow it. They have had to fight to achieve this position and they have to fight to maintain it, for there has ever been an effort on the part of the State, the Church, the Mart—the established order of society—to confine both Art and Literature to their service, to grant them, indeed, full independence in matters of method, but to deny them all independence in aims and purposes. They

could choose their gait, but their goal was to be chosen for them.

In instinctive revolt against this position the artist and the writer have in all times manifested a spirit of revolution both in season and out of season. The poet, the novelist, the dramatist, the painter, the caricaturist have in turn challenged all institutions and assailed all conventions in the assertion of this right to illuminate any phase of life and to reflect any fact of human personality. That they have too often rioted in the utmost excesses of unrestraint goes without saying. But on the whole this persistent effort on their part to assert the independence of their art has been a saving force in the world's history that has been of incalculable value in preventing social stagnation and intellectual decay.

The one adequate purpose of all creative Art and all creative Literature is the expression of human personality. This does not mean the conscious expression of the artist's own personality. On the contrary, great Art of any kind is never achieved except as the self-consciousness of the artist is lost in his subject. The conscious effort to exploit one's own personality leads invariably to pettiness and posing. There is a very real sense in which the saying, "He that loseth his life shall find it," applies to all artistic effort.

There must be in all true Art, nevertheless, the unconscious, or what some prefer to call the sub-conscious, expression of the artist's personality, and the quality of art is therefore determined by two factors: (1) The quality of the personality thus expressed; (2) the degree to which this expression is attained. This second factor in turn

depends upon the facility with which the artist can fulfil the technical requirements of his art—his proficiency in the use of his tools—and upon the intensity of his interest in the subject chosen. Given an artist with a great personality, perfect technique and a subject in which for the time he is wholly absorbed, and you will inevitably have an art-product of the very highest order. In one of these three points all Art and Literature that is not perfect falls short; either there is a lack of skill in the use of the tools, or there is a lack of deep and genuine interest in the subject, or the personality of the artist is an inferior one.

Science and philosophy unite in telling us that the highest product in the visible universe is man. That which makes him the highest is what we call his personality—his soul. In giving expression to that personality, then, Art and Literature have a function of the very highest kind. Not to express his sense of beauty alone, as some have supposed, nor his sense of delight, but to express these and all other emotions—fear, awe, hate, sorrow—all emotions and all ideas and all knowledge—this is the mission of the artist. The mission will never be wholly fulfilled, for the soul of man is forever expanding and developing and demanding new forms of expression.

EDWARD J. WHEELER.

ART

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC ART

ART has been defined as the harmonious expression of human emotion, and a work of art as a material projection of its maker's delight. It is a part of himself and is his own thought, not as he truly sees it, but as it is idealized to him. Yet is his thought conditioned by the circumstances in which his life is passed, as also by the ideas of his time. Thus the History of the Development of Art, revealing the social environment of the artist and the psychological development he has reached, is truly a branch of scientific inquiry; and ancient drawings, carvings and buildings are often the only avenue whereby an approach can be made to those peoples, historic and prehistoric, lying silent on the verge of time.

To discover the beginnings of Art recourse must be had to the relics of prehistoric man. This is a remarkable fact, considering that from the very first, man was obliged to protect himself against the elements and wild beasts, and that even when the struggle for existence waged fiercest, the troglodyte found time and inclination to turn to art, reveals that it has its origin deep in a human need. It is the natural outcome of the clamoring of the imagination for something that abstract reason cannot give; and as such is ever present either as an added element to utility or as a purpose in itself.

"The study of primitive art," says Salomon Reinach, in his 'History of Art,' "may be carried on in two ways: by the observation of living savages, or by the examination of the relics of primeval savages found buried in the soil. It is interesting to find that the two methods have, on the whole, the same results. Art manifests itself first in the desire for symmetry, which is analogous to the rhythm of poetry and music, and in the taste for color, not so arranged as to produce images, but applied or exhibited to please the eye. It goes on to trace ornaments composed of straight, curved or parallel or broken lines. Man next attempts to reproduce the animals that surround him, first in the round and afterward in relief, and by means of drawing; finally he essays, though timidly, the imitation of the human figure and of vegetation. This suggestion of evolution may be verified in observing children who in civilized society offer a parallel with primitive savagery."

The earliest traces of primeval man that have been discovered are ascribed by archeologists to the quaternary period, and while compared to the periods preceding it, it is comparatively recent, in relation to historic times its antiquity is enormous. In the early part of this period England and Sicily had not been separated by straits from the continent, and Sweden, Denmark and Scotland were still buried under polar ice. Horses and cattle were as yet wild and the mammoth and Irish elk abounded. The later quaternary period has been divided by anthropologists into two phases, the Paleolithic, or Chipped Stone Age, and Neolithic, or Polished Stone Age.

The Paleolithic is known in relation to some localities as the Drift period. In the very first phase man was most probably a hunter and fisher. Thousands of his flint axes have been found in the valleys of the Thames, Somme and Marne, triangular or oval in shape and carved by small flakes having been chipped off. As most of them possess a certain regularity of outline, they tend to show the delight of primitive man in symmetry. Of the second phase,

present knowledge is much more extensive, for man then inhabited caves, and in those which have been discovered many of his implements and works are found, together with the bones of animals contemporaneous with him. The reindeer during this period became extremely numerous, and on his bones and horns, as well as on the bones and

Fig. 1 —First Known Engravings Made by Man.
a., mammoth, carved on a fragment of his own tusk; *b.*, seal, carved on a bear's tooth.

tusks of the mammoth, are found man's first attempts at actual carving and drawing. In those caves most thoroughly explored, several well defined strata have been observed, each representing distinct periods of development.

The caves in Belgium, France, England, and recently discovered ones in Spain, have afforded most information

of this period, particularly the caves of Perigord in Central France. Of these Sir Daniel Wilson says: "Among the works of art of the cave-men of this district, contemporary with the reindeer, various drawings of animals, including the reindeer itself, have been found incised on bone and stone, apparently with a pointed implement of flint. The most remarkable is a portrait of a mammoth, seemingly executed from life, outlined on a plate of ivory, found in Madeleine Cave on the River Vezere. The other drawings of these people embrace animals, single and in groups, including the mammoth, reindeer, horse, ox, fish, flowers, ornamental patterns and rude attempts at the human form."

These epochs seem to have brought forth the earliest examples of esthetic art. "The man of this time has passed for a savage," suggests Thomas Wilson, in his "Prehistoric Art," "and doubtless he was one. He had no tribal organizations, no sociology, no belief in a future state, no religion; he did not bury his dead, he erected no monuments, he built no houses; he was a hunter and fisher, he had no local habitation, dwelt in no villages except such as could be so called from a number of people living in a cavern for the purpose of shelter. Yet he occupied, in the Solutréen epoch, the highest rank as a flint chipper, and in the Madelainien epoch the highest place as an engraver on bone and ivory. His materials were the bones, horns and tusks of the animals he killed, and his tools or implements sharply worked points or gravers of flint."

While the art products of Paleolithic man ran principally to sculpture and engraving, there is evidence of his acquaintance with and practice of the art of painting. Color has been used in decoration by prehistoric man. Judge Piette made extensive excavations in the Grotto Mas d'Azil (Ariege), France, and reported interesting discoveries relating to prehistoric art in the direction of painting. He assigned this art to a time near the close of the reindeer epoch of the Paleolithic period, to which he

gave the name Asylienne. The characteristics specially noticeable in the present connection were the hundreds of waterworn pebbles, flat, oval, with rounded edges, resembling in size the net sinkers of eastern United States, which had been painted or colored in different figures. Judging from their appearance and material, the pebbles had been gathered in the bed of the stream Arise, which flows through the Grotto Mas d'Azil. They were of quartz, quartzite, and schist, and ran from white to gray. They were artificially colored with iron peroxide, still found in the cavern. It was ground and kept in shells and in cup stones, specimens of which were found with the paint still in them, and was served with spatulas of bone. The color was red or reddish, rather maroon, about the color of iron rust.

The figures consisted of dots from one-fourth to one-half or five-eighths inch in diameter, placed in rows on the flat sides of the pebbles, from one to eight on each pebble; of bars or parallel bands of the same character; of zigzags, crosses, some circles with central dot and others of similar designs in great number. The painting can best be described by supposing much of the work to have been done by light touches of the finger. These pebbles were found in a particular stratum of the grotto. They were not placed in any order, but were scattered throughout the stratum. The meaning of the painted designs on these pebbles has never been decided, but in the present state of knowledge they represent man's earliest use of color for purposes of decoration, and consequently were the very beginning of the art of painting.

In addition to the detached carvings found in the caves, their walls and roofs contain paintings and carvings of remarkable dexterity. These early artists had noticed the chromatic qualities of certain earths, particularly the ochers, and used them on the walls of their rude habitations in making more realistic their incised drawings. In fact, realism is their most striking characteristic. Reinach

in "Alluvions et Cavernees" says: "Fancy seems to be absolutely excluded. Whether represented alone or in groups, the animals are depicted with a correctness to which we find no parallel in the art of the modern savage. The next characteristic is sobriety. There are no useless details; certain animal forms of this period, either engraved or painted, will bear comparison with the fine animal studies of modern artists. Finally, and this is perhaps the most striking trait of all, the artist of the reindeer age is in love with life and movement; he likes to represent his animals in lively and picturesque attitude; he seizes and reproduces their movements with extraordinary precision."

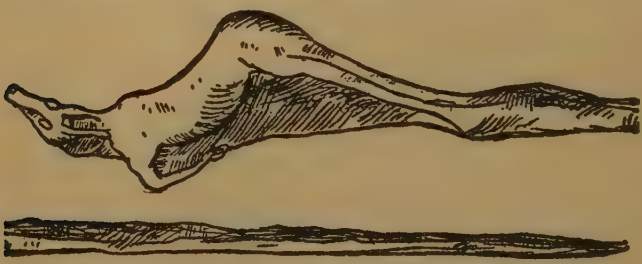


Fig. 2 —Neolithic Sculpture of Reindeer Horn.

These engravings and decorations during the Paleolithic period stand as the foundation or beginning of all art, and through the civilization to come after them in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, these Paleolithic motifs were repeated again and again, they varied, they grew and yet, down to the end of the prehistoric and the beginning of the historic period, they never got beyond lines or dots, which combined made the parallel lines, the chevron, the herringbone, the zigzag and similar simple geometric designs. They all grew out of the same beginning and had the same origin. They had no occult meaning; they never stood for any great divinity or power, whether natural or supernatural; they were simply lines

and dots arranged in ornamental form to gratify man's innate sense of beauty and because he wished the things he possessed to be beauteous in his eyes.

This period then is the genesis of art in world history, and in it can be traced successively the development of the

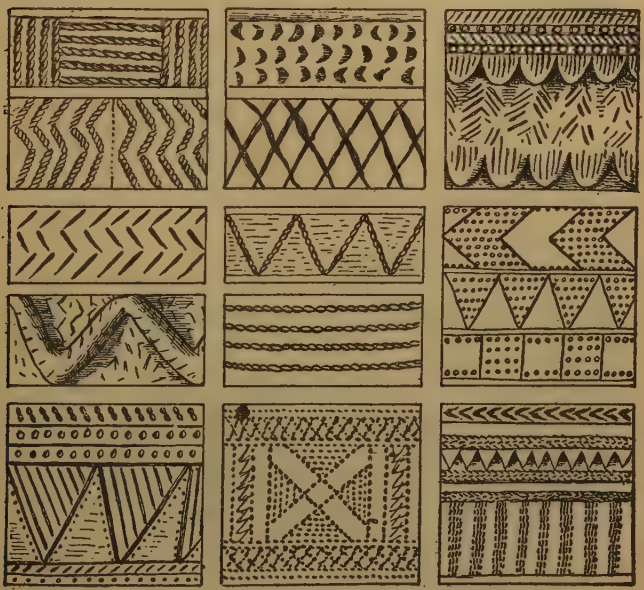


Fig. 3 —Neolithic Decorative Designs.

art idea—beginning with the desire for symmetry, extending through sculpture, incisive drawing and painting—architecure alone being absent.

This last, however, makes its appearance during the next period, the Neolithic or Polished Stone Age, to the detriment of the other forms of art. To this epoch belong the so-called lake villages of Switzerland and France.

In this period also belong the rude stone monuments which are found in England, France, Denmark and Sweden, known as dolmens, menhirs and cromlechs. "The menhirs," says Dr. Robert Munroe, "were rude monoliths fixed on end and were used for a variety of purposes, commemorative and religious. Some bear inscriptions while others have cup marks and concentric circles, while still others have rude symbolic figures."

Fig. 4 —Great Avenues of Carnac.

The construction of lake villages and dolmens continued after man had discovered the use of metals, and in some of them are found axes, swords and metal ornaments which display a certain amount of technical ability. But outside of a very few wretched terra cotta figures and several rudely carved menhirs, there are no images of men or animals belonging to this period.

Linear decoration, however, shows considerable development during the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, and belonging

in the latter are numerous spears, daggers, swords, bracelets and vases ornamented with various combinations of straight and curved lines, which have been found throughout the Eastern and Western hemispheres. In fact, during the Bronze and Iron Ages in Northern and Western Europe there seems to have been a religious law or a superstitious dread of representing living forms for centuries after the

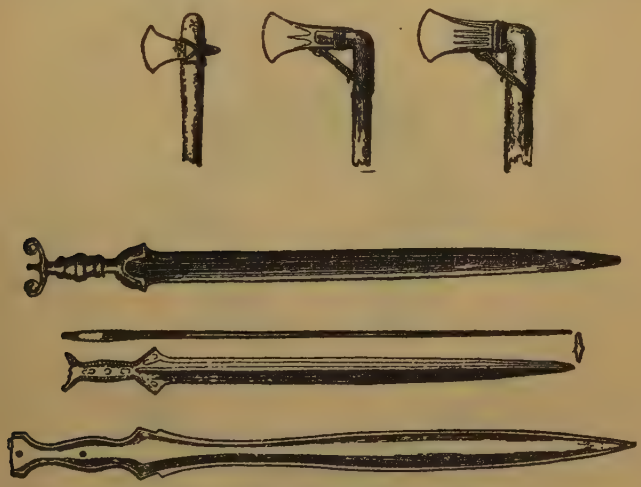


Fig. 5 —Weapons of the Bronze Age.

introduction of tools and weapons. Together with the mastery of copper and bronze and iron went a corresponding improvement in the working of gold, and various ornaments of great beauty have been discovered.

But art in the true sense of the word seems to have been dead for about four thousand years in Europe, and its only manifestations to be found during the Bronze Age are in Egypt and the neighboring countries. In fact, even before the Egyptians had begun to use metals they produced

painted vases and ornaments of ivory and terra cotta representations of all forms of animal and plant life. Dr. Flinders Petrie in an article on "The Rise and Development of Egyptian Art" says: "Our first view of any civilization in

Fig. 6 —Prehistoric Gold and Bronze Ornaments.
Central specimen is a bronze bracelet from a Swiss lake village; outer specimen a gold torque from a mound in Ireland.

Egypt starts with the beginning of cultivable land, on the first deposits of Nile soil, about 7000 B.C. Before that Egypt was only a rocky gorge frequented by wild animals and paleolithic hunters. The oldest graves that are known are of a settled pastoral people and show that pottery and

small quantities of copper were already possessed by the rude inhabitants. But this civilization rapidly developed in the fertile valley of the Nile, and the first steps of art are seen in the white clay paintings on the red pottery vases. These paintings are usually figures of goats, but some are known of hippopotami and human figures.

"The carving of slate palettes in animal forms begins at its best in almost the earliest graves and underwent continued degradation through the whole prehistoric period.

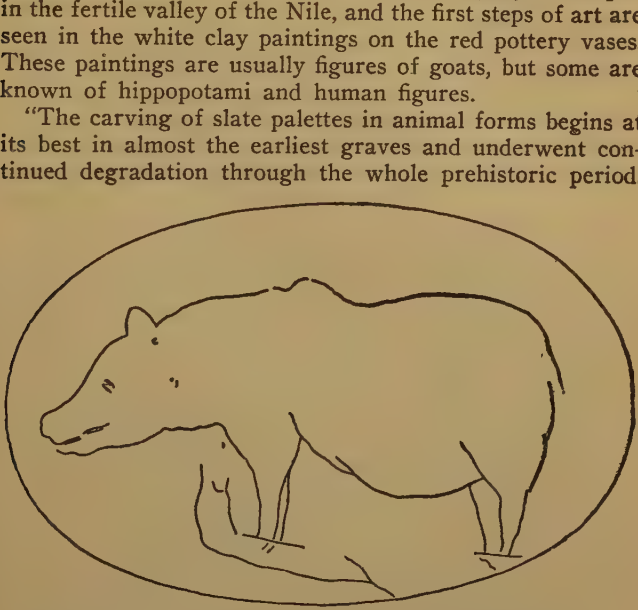


Fig. 7 —Carving of Cave-Bear, Now Long Extinct.

One of the latest, about half through the prehistoric and certainly the most important, is the bust of a man, which shows the type of these people; the forehead high, beard pointed and general type closely like the Libyo-Amorite."

In the deeper strata of Troy vases and figures have been discovered which, while they are in no sense imitations of those found in Egypt, resemble them in their stage of artistic development and reveal elements outside of the purely decorative style.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORIC ART

Two of the strongest factors in developing and modifying architecture and art are religion and environment. Both of these were powerful influences in the development of Egyptian art. The great scarcity of wood in the Nile valley compelled the Egyptians at a very early period to employ rock, and the comparative absence of rain led to a flat-roofed style of architecture. "The endeavor to obtain shade and a cool current of air," says C. O. Muller in his 'Remains of Antique Art,' "can alone be laid down as the climatic conditions, with which sacerdotal principles and the particular feeling of the nation for art, united in order to produce the peculiar and simply grandiose style of Egyptian architecture.

"The sacred structures did not possess in their design the internal unity of the Greek. They were rather aggregates which could be increased indefinitely, as is evident by the history, for instance, of the temple of Pthah at Memphis, of which Herodotus writes. Alleys of colossal rams or sphinxes lead up to the approach or dromos; sometimes before these are erected small temples of coordinated deities. Before the main body of the edifice usually stand two obelisks commemorative of the dedication. The principal structures begin with a pylon, being pyramidal double towers or wings which flank the gateway. Then follows usually a court surrounded by colonnades, subordinate temples and houses for priests. A

second pylon now leads into the anterior and most considerable portion of the temple properly so called.

As a general rule the columns, which are placed close together, stand inside the walls; when they are on the outside they are united with stone parapets and take the place of a wall. The walls are built of square blocks, and while they are perpendicular on the inside, on the outside slope inward, with the result that the buildings assume a pyramidal form, a characteristic of all Egyptian architec-

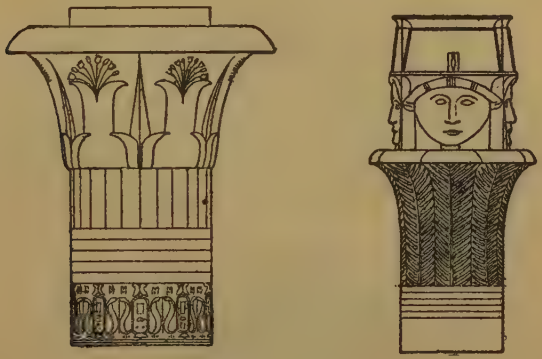


Fig. 8 —Egyptian Capitals.

ture. The exterior plane wall surfaces are bound by a torus after the manner of a frame. Above this torus is the cornice, which forms a parapet to the flat roof, which consists of stone beams laid across and slabs fitted in between. This method of construction resulted in short, closely ranged columns.

"The shaft of the columns," says A. Rosengarten in his 'Architectural Styles,' "is sometimes thick, sometimes slender, but never diminishing. Its height varies from 3 to 4½ times the diameter of the base or sometimes even

5 to 5½ times. The capitals display an immense variety. The most beautiful have a crater-like form and appear like the projecting bell of a flower, with leaves standing out from the surface. At the lower part of the capital there

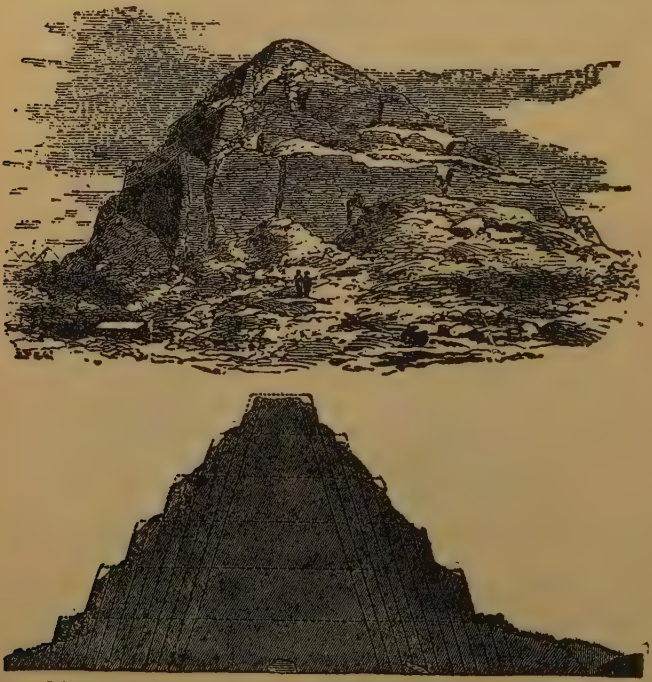


Fig. 9 —Most Ancient Pyramid, at Sakkharah, Egypt.

frequently occurs an ornament of diminishing triangles, resembling the sheath from which the stalk springs. Other capitals imitate an unopened bud or seed pod. In both cases the lotus, which is the sacred plant, is typified."

Another type of building essentially Egyptian is seen in

the pyramids. The facts that they are found in the midst of a necropolis, that they contain sarcophagi and mummies and that the inscriptions on the tombs of many priests mention as a special honor that the deceased officiated at the funeral services held at the pyramids, seem to prove that they are always primarily tombs. As the Egyptian tombs have always borne one and the same character, and only the manner in which they were adorned varied with the tastes of the period, their age may be determined with great certainty. For the first eleven dynasties, or previous to about 3000 B. C., the tombs were in the form of a 'mastaba,' or merely rectangular walls looking like unfinished pyramids, and their interior was richly decorated with sculptures and paintings, referring either to the life of the deceased or to the gods of the current religious system. During the middle empire, and until about 1600 B.C., the 'mastaba' was superseded by small pyramids and by the 'speos' or halls cut into the rocks, and the divinities were seldom represented upon them. In the next period, until about 340 B. C., the excavated tombs prevailed, and the statuary and images of the deceased were superseded again by those of a mythological nature.

The pyramids are only enlarged 'mastaba' and belong as such to the first period. Each one was commenced over a sepulchral chamber excavated in the rock, and during the life of the king for whom it was intended the work of building up the structure over this chamber went on, a very narrow and low passageway being kept open as the courses of the stone were added by which access from the outside was secured to the central chamber. At the death of the monarch the work ceased and the last layers were then finished off and the passageway closed up. The blocks of stone were of extraordinary dimensions, and their transportation to the pyramids and adjustment in their places indicate a surprising degree of mechanical skill.

Of Egyptian sculpture many examples have come down to later times, from the gigantic Sphinx or lion with a

human head and the royal statues at Ipsamboul, sixty feet high, to the tiny figures representing gods, human beings and animals. "The treatment of forms passes constantly into generalities," says Muller. The individual parts of the body are fashioned after a national fundamental type. The Egyptian artists followed likewise an established system of proportions." While the sexes are distinguished,

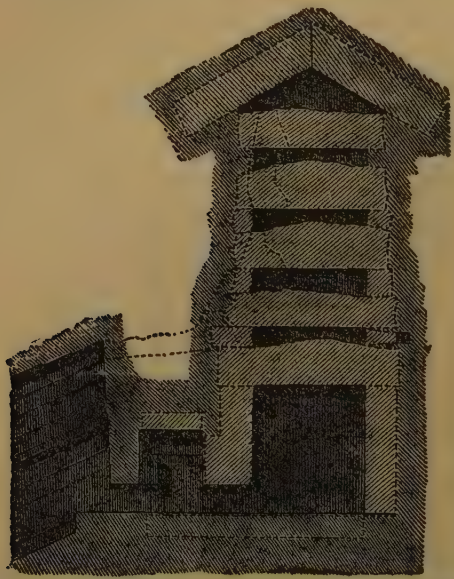


Fig. 10 —Chambers in Great Pyramid of Ghizeh.

no characteristic portraits of different individuals exist; in fact, persons are distinguished by dress and color and head dress. The depicting of the animal forms was carried to a greater degree of perfection, but all human figures, standing or sitting, walking or motionless, confront the spectator; the top of the head, the junction of neck and

Pyramids at Ghizeh and the Sphinx.

shoulders and the centre of the body are on a vertical plane. All figures rest on the soles of their feet; no Egyptian ever represented a person resting his weight on one leg.

In the 4,000 years of Egypt's history can be distinguished the four distinct periods. The Ancient Empire, from 4000 B. C. to 2565 B. C.; the Middle Empire, 2565 B. C. to 1591 B. C., and the New Empire, 1591 B. C. to 525 B. C. Under

Fig. 11 —Egyptians at Work on Monolithic Statue.

the Ancient Empire the figures are short and sturdy and evidently were inspired by Nature. "The Scribe," a figure carved in limestone and painted red, is a masterpiece in the modelling of the body, but the head lacks any expression of intellectual life.

During the Middle Empire the figures began to lengthen and then modelling became more dexterous, but a superficial charm supplants the study of Nature, resulting in a certain frigidity. Under the New Empire Egyptian art

took on a distinct academic phase. Technical skill became subservient to a conventional system, resulting in a style destitute of character. There was a brilliant Renaissance under the Pharaohs of Sais from 700 B.C. to 525 B.C., and during this period, known as the Saité epoch, the traditions

Fig. 12 —Example of Lack of Perspective in Egyptian Painting.

of the Ancient Empire gained a foothold. It was during this comparatively short time that Egyptian art produced many of its best works. The basalt head in the Louvre has been compared in the realistic perfection of its modelling to the Flemish portraits of the fifteenth century.

Painting was a development of the coloring of statues and reliefs, and whether applied to the reliefs or flat surfaces, is always mere coloring without gradation or fusion of tones. The figures are in profile, but the eyes and shoulders are turned to the front. Perspective is ignored and when two persons are supposed to be side by side the second is drawn on top of the first.

In characterizing Egyptian art it may be said that the Egyptians built and carved with eternity ever in their thoughts. In fact, this idea of eternity influenced the entire cast of Egyptian thought and led to the embalming of the dead and necessarily engendered respect for the past and tradition, and thus while Egyptian art was not altogether immobile, it was so fettered by conventions and formulæ as never to attain what its beginnings promised.

It is an open question whether Chaldean art was influenced by Egyptian art or whether the former exercised any influence over the latter. All the most ancient of the Chaldean works of art that have been discovered contain the germ of Assyrian art. The Chaldean monuments have been found in Tello and Susa, while the Assyrian seat of art was Nineveh, the one-time capital. Both of these nations built with bricks made from clay, on account of the scarcity of stone and wood, and new cities springing up mutilated the earlier buildings for the sake of the bricks. The distinctive building of the valley of the Euphrates was the ziggurat, always of seven stories, each different ascending elevation faced with tiles sacred to the seven planets. But even the buildings left undisturbed were not durable, and for this reason no well-preserved monuments of either nation remain, altho the vastness of the ruins bear witness to the greatness of their undertakings.

The importance of the vault in Assyrian architecture is a distinguishing characteristic, for the Egyptians made only sparing use of it while the Assyrians built not only vaults but cupolas of brick, rising boldly above their square halls.

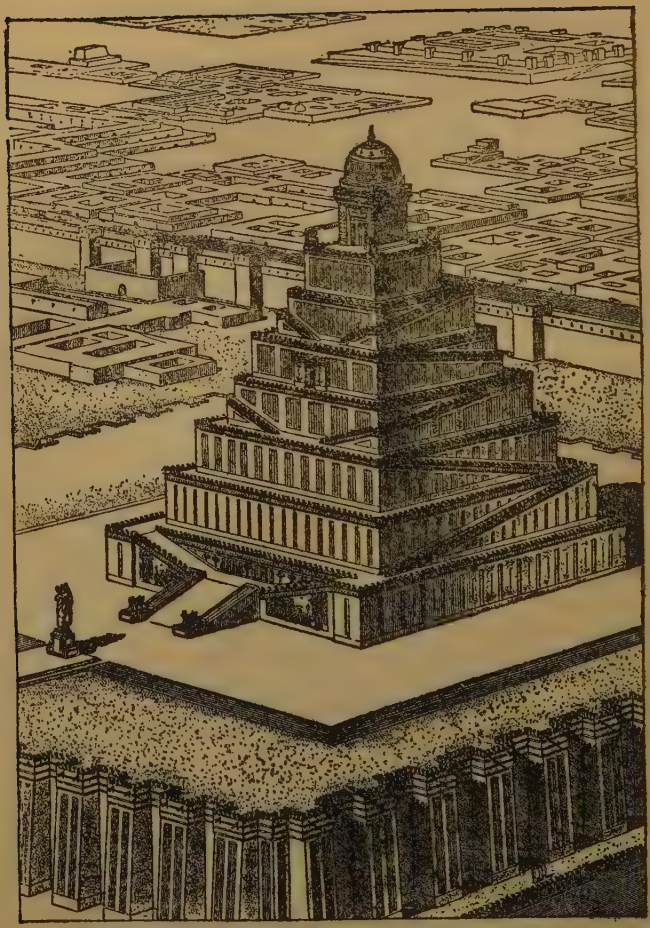


Fig. 13 —Restoration of a Chaldean Ziggurat.

Each story was faced with a different colored brick. Thus the first, or lowest, sacred to Saturn, was black; the second, to Jupiter, orange; the third, to Mars, blood-red; the fourth, to the Sun, gold (plates of gold); the fifth, to Venus, lemon-yellow; the sixth, to Mercury, azure blue; the seventh, to the Moon, silver, coated with plates of that metal.

The plastic art of Chaldea found expression in reliefs which were impressed on the still unburnt bricks and glazed with a coat of colored varnish, and in statues of gods, which had cores of wood overlaid with beaten metal in which precious stones were imbedded. While the Egyptians softened details, the Chaldeans depicted robust types with prominent muscles and broad shoulders. The bas-reliefs of Nineveh, fifteen centuries later than those of Chaldea, are a continuation of the same art. As M. Heuzey in "Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéens" says, "The muscular forms of Assyrian art standing out from the body like pieces of mail, and generally carved in relief in the soft stone, represent a systematic exaggeration of those qualities of strength and power which Chaldean sculpture drew directly from Nature."

"To get some idea of the characteristics of this (Chaldean) art," write Perrot and Chipiez in their "Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité," "realistic and almost brutal, yet refined by its striving after expressive modelling, we have but to study one of the statues in the Louvre, 'The Architect with the Rule.' As a fact, it represents not an architect, but one of the princes of the land in the character of constructor. On his knees is a rule, the length of a Babylonian foot subdivided into sixteen equal parts. The modelling of the arm and of the foot sufficiently indicates the tendencies of Chaldean art. We find nothing akin to it in Egypt, save perhaps the heads of a school some 2,000 years later. Even in Greece it would be difficult to point to sculpture showing the same exaggeration of muscular energy."

"The glorification of brute force," writes Reinach in "Le Mirage Orientale," "and delight in cruel spectacles characterize the long series of alabaster bas reliefs dating from 800 to 600 B. C., discovered at Nineveh. They formed the interior decoration of palaces and commemorated the victories and diversions of Assyrian kings. Whereas in Egyptian art the gods are the protagonists, in that of

Assyria the kings take their place, kings eager for military fame, glorying in the recollection of bloody victories.

"The bas reliefs show scenes of revolting carnage, of horrible tortures. Representations of tutelary divinities are not, however, altogether lacking. In the Louvre is a colossal figure of a bearded god, the Assyrian Hercules,

Fig. 14 —Assyrian Winged Lion.

gripping a lion. Elsewhere Assyrian sculptures show winged genii, sometimes mighty bulls with human faces, guarding the entrances of palaces; sometimes eagle-headed monsters performing some sort of ritual on either side of a sacred tree. Another favorite theme is a royal hunting party. The representation of animals (horses, dogs and lions) is the triumph of Assyrian art. Greek antiquity

Fig. 15 —Wounded Lioness.

One of the finest examples of animal sculpture in antiquity. From the palace of Asshurbanipal (668-626 B.C.), at Nineveh. (Ragozin.)

produced nothing finer than the wounded lion and lioness; the realism of these studies is startling."

Persia, one of the greatest nations of antiquity, developed no distinct characteristic style of its own. Of the early times no authentic remains exist except the tomb of Cyrus and the walls of its ancient capital, Ecbatana. The former cannot be considered in any way a Persian edifice, being clearly a Grecian work. The walls of Ecbatana are the earliest examples of constructive coloring on a large scale, the seven of them on the sides of a conical hill having been colored in succession white, black, scarlet, blue, orange, silver and gold.

Fig. 16 —Decorative Persian Capitals.

The chief buildings at Persepolis and Susa betray an Ionic Grecian influence in their architecture, which was probably diffused in Asia at an early period, but they are deprived of their charms by an overburdening with ornament and incongruous combinations.

"The ruins of Persepolis," writes Muller, "exhibit abundance of sculpture combined with architecture. Fantastic animals of a symbolic nature stand at the very

entrance as the royal arms. We see on different walls and pillars the king with his attendants in procession; his throne, which is covered with a canopy, borne by representatives of the chief tribes of the empire. The masterpiece of Persian sculpture, 'The Frieze of Archers,' taken from the palace at Susa and made of glazed brick, reveals an Assyrian influence, mingled with Grecian delicacy and sobriety."

The Phœnicians, who inhabited the coast of Syria and the island of Cyprus, carried on a brisk trade in decorative objects. While they showed a certain amount of skill in the designing of colored glass and engraved metal cups, in other branches they imitated successively the Assyrians, Egyptians and Greeks, displaying in all their works a love of ornament and magnificence which, however, often rather obstructed than aided the development of their art.

Assyrian influences also played a part on Jewish architecture, for the Biblical descriptions of the Temple of Jerusalem and Solomon's palace show that these buildings were Assyrian in character.

The Hindus developed the architecture and plastic arts in the extreme East. The age which until recently has been ascribed to the rock-cut temples has been discovered to have been fabulous and by historians they are now classed as contemporaneous with Alexander the Great and extend down to the tenth century A.D. The rock-hewn caves at Ellora and Karli display many forms. Massive piers, richly carved with figures, support the roofs, but in all is seen an art "roaming with inconstancy amid an abundance of forms, so that it is difficult to get rid of the idea that architectonic and plastic sense in India was only awakened by impulses and communications of various kinds from without."

The antiquity of the art of China is likewise a delusion. The date of most ancient sculptures known is now fixed at 130 A. D. and show the influences of a bastard form of

Fig. 17 —Lion-Frieze at Susa.

Tile-work of the priest order. The ground is turquoise blue; the lions—white, yellow and green; the inscriptions—white; the tile design below (and above) the frieze—gray and rose colored. (Ragozin.)

Greek art which had spread through Siberia and Central Asia.

It is now almost thirty-five years since the spade of Schliemann brought to life the remains of the oldest civilization of Greece, and as it was soon recognized that these remains belonged to the period of the Bronze Age, it was clear that they must be older than the classical period of Greek culture.

An important confirmation of this view seems to be supplied by the evidence derived from the excavations which have been made in Egypt in recent years, where a large number of objects, pottery, etc., of Mycenæan origin have been found; and in many cases such objects have been discovered side by side with native Egyptian objects which must belong to the period which lies between 1500 B.C. and 1100 B.C. Accordingly the beginnings of Mycenæan culture must be put at as early a date as 3000 B.C.

"Modern archæologists," says Reinach, "indicate three periods in the distant past of pre-Homeric Greece: First—Ægean Period, of little marble idols (3000 to 2000 B.C.). Second—Cretan Period, of which the island of Crete seems to have been the principal centre, characterized by a rapid advance in the arts of design and of work in metal, first toward realism and afterward toward elegance. Egyptian influences appeared in this development, without inducing servile imitation (2000-1500 B.C.). Third—The Mycenæan Period, which seems in certain respects to have been the age of Cretan decadence. It is characterized by a very original style of painted pottery decorated with plants and animals (1500-1100 B.C.)."

"In the southeast corner of the Plain of Argos," writes Dr. Heinrich Schliemann, "on the lowest and flattest of the rocky hills which rise like islands out of the marshy lowlands, was situated the ancient citadel of Tiryns. It was celebrated as the birthplace of Hercules and was famous for its gigantic Cyclopean walls, of which Pausi-

anas says: 'The circuit wall, which is the only remaining ruin (of Tiryns), was built by the Cyclopes. It is composed of unwrought stones, each of which is so large that a team of mules cannot even shake it. Small stones have been interposed, in order to consolidate the large blocks.

"The usual size of the stones is seven feet long and

Fig. 18 —Lion-Gate at Mycenæ.
Lintel, but with Stone Above Showing Early Striving for Arch.

three feet thick, but I measured several which were ten feet long and four feet thick. Judging by the masses of fallen stones, I think it is probable that the walls when entire were not less than sixty feet high."

"Of Mycenæ," writes Schliemann, "the Acropolis is

surrounded by Cyclopean walls from thirteen to thirty-five feet high and on an average sixteen feet thick. They follow the sinuosity of the rock and are of three periods.

"In the northwestern corner of the circuit wall is the great Lion's Gate. The opening, which widens from the top downward, is ten feet eight inches high and its width is nine feet six inches at the top and ten feet three inches below. Over the lintel of the gate is a triangular gap in masonry of the wall, formed by an oblique approximation of the side courses of stone. This niche is filled by a triangular slab. On the face of the slab are represented

Fig. 19 —Doric Capital.

in relief two lions, standing opposite to each other on their long, outstretched hind-paws and resting with their fore-paws on either side of an altar in the midst of which stands a column with a capital formed of four circles, enclosed between two horizontal fields."

The civilizations which produced these monuments formed a continuous development and lasted until about 1100 B. C., when Greece was invaded by certain northern tribes, of which the Dorians were the most prominent, and was plunged into a period of intellectual and artistic darkness from which she did not emerge for three hundred

years. But several tribes fleeing from the invaders founded colonies at Chios, Cyprus and Syria, where Mycenæan civilization was preserved.

The Hellenic Renaissance, if it may be so called, began about 800 B. C., and within a few years Greek art reached its zenith. To account for this, in addition to the fact that the Greeks were peculiarly fitted for the cultivation of the arts, outside influences must be considered, of which four had a direct effect in the development of Greek art. From Assyria came the use of the vault and arch and a

Fig. 20 —Elevation of Parthenon, Doric Style.

certain minuteness of treatment. The Phœnicians introduced into Greece the wares of other nations. Egypt contributed the Lintel style and solidity of finish; indeed the prototype of the Doric style is found in Egypt. In addition to these, the fugitives who had settled in various other parts returned, bringing with them the remains of the older culture of Asia Minor.

In architecture the Greeks developed three principal orders. The most ancient, to which belong the Parthenon, the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the temple of Aphaia at

Ægina, the temples of Sicily and Southern Italy, is known as Doric because it was supposed to have been first used by the Dorians. "In this style," says C. O. Muller in his "Remains of Ancient Art," "everything was suitable to its object, everything in harmony, and for that reason noble and grand; only stone building borrowed many forms from the earlier wooden structures. The great thickness of columns and their great diminution as well as their closeness have solidity and firmness for their aim.

Fig. 21 —Ionic Capital.

The proportions are simple and the uniformity of the dimensions which is often observed in individual portions satisfies the eye, but on the whole the great horizontal lines predominate over the vertical lines. The imposing simplicity of the leading forms is agreeably interrupted by a few small ornamental members."

"After the Doric temples," says Russel Sturgis in his "History of Architecture," "the most numerous Greek buildings known to us are those in the Ionic style. The most striking feature of this style is the curious capital

with what are called 'volutes,' that is, spiral ornaments, but all the other members of the Ionic order differ as well from those of the Doric." The columns have distinct bases, consisting of mouldings; the channelling is not so near together, leaving more of the surface of the column between, while the shaft is more slender, being in the proportion of one to eight or nine with the diameter. In short, the general characteristics are greater tenderness,

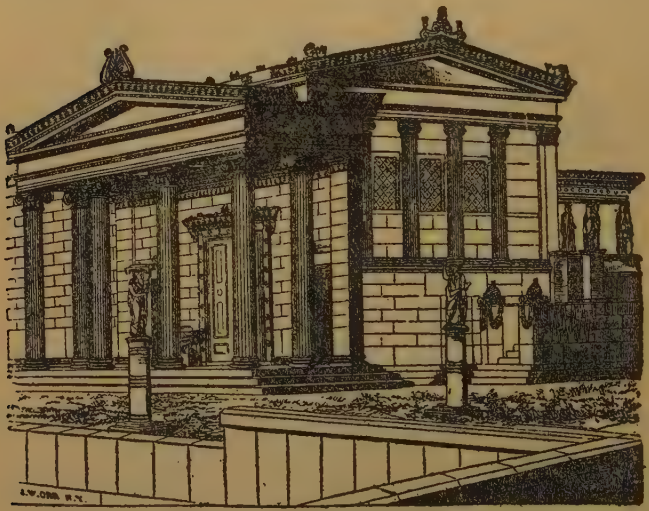


Fig. 22 —Restoration of Erectheion, Ionic Style.

grace, variety and elegance than those of the Doric style. The principal examples of this order are the temples of Artemis at Ephesus, of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens, of Zeus at Aizani, of Dionysos at Teos in Asia Minor and the Erectheion at Athens.

The third order is the Corinthian, in which the columns are even more slender than those of the Ionic style, the

proportion being one to ten. The capital is highly ornate, consisting of a decorative arrangement of acanthus leaves. The abacus is hollow at the sides, with a rosette in the centre. The principal example of this order is the Tomb of Lysicrates, a small circular building built about 335 B.C.

Fig. 23 —CORINTHIAN CAPITAL.

In various parts of Asia Minor and the islands a few other examples are found and the conclusion is that the Roman conquest put a stop to building operations in Greece. The Romans, however, adopted it as their own and employed it generally.

"The Homeric poems," comments Muller, "and the mythic accounts which have come down to us in other

ways agree in this that no statues, except images of the gods, were known to early Greece. In regard to the image of a deity, it did not by any means from the beginning claim to be a resemblance of the god, but was only a symbolical sign of his presence; hence nothing is more common than to find rude stone pillars, wooden stakes and the like set up as religious idols. The name of Daedalus denotes the activity of the first Attic and Cretan, and Smilis the Æginetan artists."

One of the oldest marble statues that has thus far been found in Greece is an Artemis excavated at Delos, which dates back to about 620 B. C. The head, hair, arms and a girdle are indicated in a most rudimentary fashion; in fact, it is only on close inspection that the intention of the artist is discovered.

During the fiftieth Olympiad, corresponding to about 580 B. C., the Greeks were brought into closer intercourse with the people of Asia and Egypt, and this, together with the fact that the tyrants endeavored "to occupy the attention, the hands and the wealth of their subjects by means of splendid works," hastened the development of sculpture. Moreover, epic poetry, which made mythology ready to be depicted by the plastic art, had well nigh exhausted its subject. Out of it grew lyric and dramatic poetry side by side with sculpture. Gymnastics, too, were exercised and carried to a state of development hitherto unknown. These carried with them an enthusiasm for the beautiful and significant in the human form and created a desire to perpetuate the strength and valor of the contestants.

"About 550 B. C.," says Reinach, "a family of sculptors were working in the Isle of Chios. One of them, Archermos, invented a new type, that of a winged goddess, Victory or Gorgon, advancing with a rapid movement. A statue of this school was discovered in the Isle of Delos. This figure marks an important innovation in sculpture. It is to be remembered that Egyptian art hardly ever essayed to represent a woman, save with her

legs undivided, and that Assyrian art rarely represented her at all. Here, 150 years after the first lispings of Greek art, we have a woman who in running is displaying the

Fig. 24 —First Statue With a Smile. The Niké of Delos. Ancient Greek.

upper part of a muscular limb. Moreover, she is smiling, a greater innovation than all the rest. It is true the smile lacks sweetness; that it is somewhat of a grimace, that

the mouth is harsh, the cheek bones too prominent, but the smile is there, and this is the first time we meet with it in art. The Egyptian and Assyrian divinities have too little humanity to smile; they either grimace or look out stolidly at the spectator. In the 'Niké' of Delos we see an art which is no longer content to imitate forms; it is seeking after and beginning to express sentiment, spiritual life. This was a great discovery, heralding a new art."

The Persian wars, from 490 B.C. to 479 B.C., made the Greeks realize their own prowess, and the destruction of their temples left them ruins to rebuild. Rich with the

Fig. 25 —Ancient Æginetan Group.

spoils of their invaders, they restored what their enemies had destroyed and a new classic art was born. The first works to presage this period are the groups from the pediment of the temple of Aphaia at Ægina. Athena leads the combats of the Æginetan heroes against Troy. In one group there is the combat around the body of Patroclus, in the other around Oicles. The heads are more archaic than the bodies, which display an immense advance in modelling and action. Of about the same time are the pedimental figures from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, which likewise are groups representing the preparation for the race between Pelops and Œnomous and the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. Pausanius, who described this

temple, attributed these figures to Pæomos of Thrace and Alcamenes.

The highest achievements of Greek sculpture were

Fig. 26 —The "Discobolus," by Myron the Eleutherean.

ushered in by Calamis (c. 480 B.C.), Pythagoras (c. 488 B.C.) and Myron (c. 500 B.C.). The first of these still clung to the hardness of the old style, but notwithstanding, he executed admirable works of various kinds, sublime statues of gods, delicate and graceful women and spirited charg-

ers. Pythagoras excelled in a thorough artistic knowledge of anatomy, depicting with great accuracy the muscles and veins and also infused great expression in the faces of his figures. He worked exclusively in bronze and his most famous figure is 'Philoctetus' at Syracuse. Art expressed itself corporeally in Myron the Eleutherean, who was in an especial manner led by his individuality to conceive powerful natural life in the most extended variety of appearances with the greatest truth and naïveté. His cow, his dog, his sea monsters were highly vivid representatives from the animal kingdom; from the same tendency sprang his 'Dolichodromus Ladas,' who was represented in the highest and most intense exertion, and his 'Discobolus,' conceived in the act of throwing, the numerous imitations of which testify to its fame.

Polyclitus of Argos (c. 450 B.C.) introduced another new idea into sculpture. While Myron had portrayed the human figure in extreme action, Polyclitus, according to Pliny, established the principle that the weight of the body should be borne chiefly by one foot. The statue for which he was most famous in antiquity, a colossal figure of Hera, has never been found, but copies of several of his bronze statues have come to light. His 'Doryphorus' became a canon of the proportions of the human frame and his 'Amazon,' formerly at Ephesus, has served as a type for all succeeding portrayals in Greek art of these masculine heroines.

"The influence of Polykleitos," says Furtwangler in his 'Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture,' "spread to wide circles. In his own immediate surroundings, however, he held almost absolute sway. Although we have succeeded in separating to a certain extent the activity of master and pupils, we have found in this inner group of workers comparatively little personal individuality.

"We, like the ancients, know no creations of Polykleitos except youthful, beardless figures. This springtime of life

is chosen for divinities as well as for human beings whenever it is at all congruous, as in the case of 'Dionysos,' 'Hermes,' 'Ares,' 'Herakles' and 'Pan.' But within these

Fig. 27 —The "Amazon," by Polyclitus of Argos.

limits perhaps no artist has gone so far in representing the more delicate shades of distinction between boyhood and

adolescence. Nor is his choice of motives nearly so uniform as has hitherto been believed."

Phidias (c. 500-430 B.C.) is undoubtedly the greatest name in Greek sculpture, but, strange as it may seem, of all the statues that have come down to posterity there is not even one fragment that can be positively identified as his. The supposed copy of his 'Lemnian Athena' has not yet had its claims generally admitted; the copies of his 'Athena Parthenos' are poor, and the only way his 'Zeus' is recognized is through reliefs on coins. But the sculptures of the Parthenon, executed as they were under his personal supervision, bear the direct impress of his genius, and from them can be formed a fair estimate of his power.

"No name in the history of art," says Maxime Collignon in his work on Phidias, "is surrounded with a prestige like that which belongs to the name of Phidias. It awakens in our minds the idea of artistic perfection realized in an epoch privileged above all others. It would be impossible even had we the necessary data to describe in detail within any restrained limits, all the various characteristics of the art of Phidias.

"Phidias arrived at maturity at the very time when Pericles had become able to carry out those embellishments to Athens of which his predecessor, Cimon, had dreamed, and his friendship with Phidias opened to the latter the noblest opportunity that has perhaps ever fallen to the lot of an artist. And the artist was worthy of the task. To Phidias only has it been given to realize with such mastery the expression of beauty at one of those moments, so rare in human history, when all things seem to conspire to create conditions favorable to the activity of a superior genius—strength of natural sentiment, fervor of religious faith, great works to be accomplished, an art young, original, full of vigor, which seemed merely to be awaiting the coming of him who should be capable of expressing at last in perfect form its highest aspirations. This was the part reserved for Phidias to play."

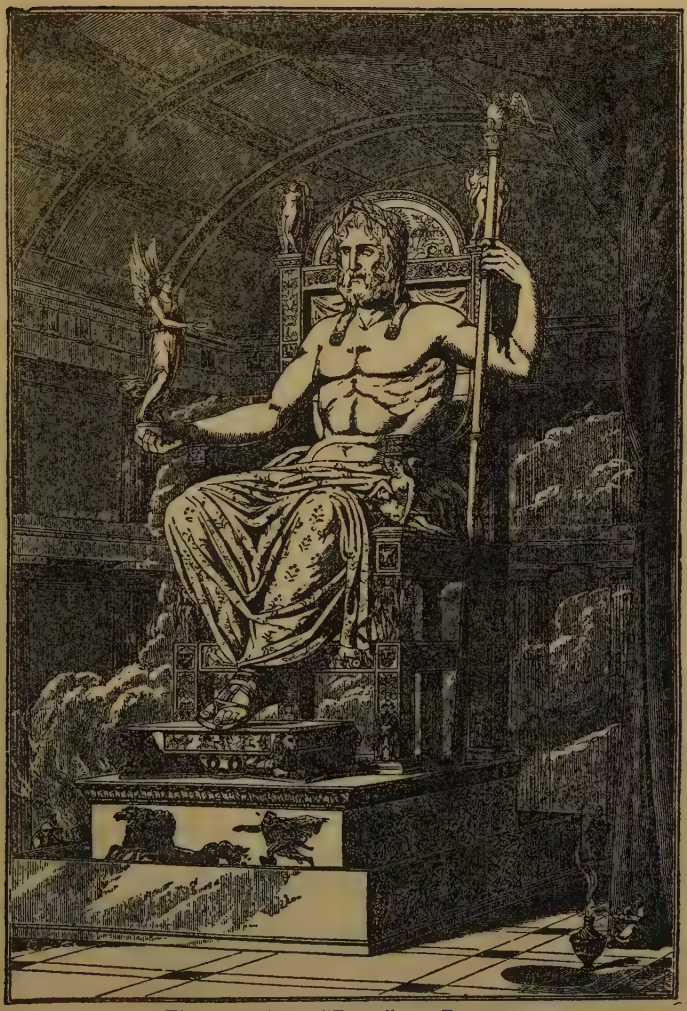


Fig. 28 —The "Zeus," by Phidias.

Restoration of the greatest statue of the ancient world, made from coin. Compare size with that of priest in corner.

"The style of Phidias," M. Ronchaud has excellently said, "is at once real and ideal, real in its admirable pose and gesture and in the characteristic truth of movement, ideal in the profound sentiment and the beauty of human form which breathes from his figures."

The statue discovered in Melos in 1820 and by many archæologists pronounced to be a Venus of about 100 B. C. is ascribed by Reinach in the "Revue Archéologique" to the school of Phidias, and, differing again with many authorities, he says it is Amphritite.

The Peloponnesian War, begun by Pericles in 432 B.C., and the conquest of Athens by Sparta caused a change in Hellenic thought which was reflected in its sculpture. Characteristic of this change are the works of Praxiteles (c. 390-332 B.C.). "Praxiteles," says Olivier Rayet in his 'Monuments de l'Art Antique,' "belonged to a generation in which the growth of luxury, comfort and the sophistications of intellectual culture had refined away the natural passions and extinguished the enthusiasm of the preceding age. Phidias had represented the gods of high Olympus with a reverential awe which set them in sovereign majesty above all touch of human joy or misery. Praxiteles reduced their proportions to mortal stature, endowed them with all the passions of humanity."

One undoubted work from Praxiteles' hand is known, 'Hermes Carrying the Infant Dionysius,' in which the delicate roundness of the polished skin is contrasted with the loose texture of the hair and the effects of a subdued play of light and shadow remove any lingering vestiges of harshness and angularity. Numerous copies have preserved others of his works, among which may be mentioned 'Aphrodite of Cnidus,' the original of which was considered by his contemporaries his masterpiece; 'Apollo Sauroctonus,' bas reliefs from Mantinea, heads of Aphrodite and Hercules and a satyr.

Scopas, who lived about the same time, is known by certain heads, and to him also is ascribed the Niobe Group.

Fig. 29 —The "Venus" of Melos.

He borrowed many of his favorite themes from the cycles of Aphrodite and Dionysius and he presented Bacchic enthusiasm in a perfectly free and unfettered form. To his pupil, Leochares, is attributed the so-called 'Apollo Belvidere,' while to the influence of the master may be traced the production of the 'Victory of Samothrace,' its flowing draperies and swinging form, filled with irresistible energy.

Lysippus, another sculptor somewhat later than Praxiteles or Scopas, was employed by Alexander the Great, executing works chiefly in bronze, while the others worked in marble. His heads represent neither reverie nor passion; they are rather nervous and refined. The 'Apoxyomenus,' an athlete scraping his arm, is his best known work, and others attributed to him are the 'Borghese Warrior,' 'Venus de Medici,' which is a copy of one by him, and statues of Heracles and Alexander the Great.

The conquests of the East under Alexander opened the eyes of the Greeks in other directions and new elements manifested themselves in art. "Under his successors," says Murray, "in what is called the Macedonian, or better, the Hellenistic period, the opulence and taste for luxury of the times led artists to aim at producing works conspicuous for picturesqueness; not, however, that picturesqueness which is born of a fine fancy, but that which originates in a studied effort to throw a gleam of romance over a plain historical incident." But this is not all. Strength, grace and elegance had all found expression; physical suffering remained unrepresented, and in this epoch the "tumult and disorder of the soul and body" were admirably depicted by the two schools of Rhodes and Pergamus.

Of the former school the principal artists were Chares, the designer of the 'Colossus'; Cephisodotus and Timarchus, sons of Praxiteles, and Euthycrates, a pupil of Lysippus. To this school also belonged Apollinus and Tauriscus, the sculptors of a colossal group identified with the one in the museum at Naples known as the 'Farnese Bull,' repre-

HERMES. (By Praxiteles.)

senting Amphion and Zethus in the act of binding Dirce to the horns of a bull in the presence of their mother, Antiope. More remarkable even than this is 'The Lao-

Fig. 30 —The "Farnese Bull."

cöon,' the work of Agesander, Athenodorus and Polydorus, which for depicting physical tortures stands unapproached.

At Pergamus, under the court of Attalus and Eumenes, was formed the other school. In depicting in large groups

and few figures the victories over the Gauls the sculptors were called upon to produce the type of the barbarians.

Painting was later in becoming an independent art than sculpture. The first efforts have been traced to the Corin-

Fig. 31 —The "Laocöon."

thians and Sicyonians, and even the invention of painting has been ascribed, variously, to Cleanthes of Corinth, Ardices of Corinth and Telephanes of Sicyon. Cimon of Cleonae made distinct advances in the treatment of draperies and perspective. Of all the classic painters whose

names alone are remembered are Polygnotus, distinguished for accurate drawing; Dionysius Apollodorus, Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Aristides and Apelles. With the loss of independence Greek sculptors worked for Roman masters. Moreover, the conquerors destroyed the temples

Fig. 32 —The "Wrestlers." Late Greek Sculpture.

and carried away with them the works of art by which, through strange fatality, the masters of the world became lovers of the beautiful and carried on the glorious heritage of Greek art.

CHAPTER III

ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN ART

"In Northern Italy," writes Russel Sturgis, "are found remains of large mounds cased outside, wholly or in part, with cut stone. Within these may be mere chambers, but without they have had some monumental character. Buildings of this character and evidently meant for tombs are found in Asia Minor and in Algeria, but those of Tuscany and Umbria are peculiarly important to us because of their connection with the Roman tombs of the great imperial epoch. These buildings we associate with the Etruscans or Etrurians, the people of Etruria who governed all Italy from the Tiber to the Po and at one time held the city of Rome in subjection.

"Their language cannot be read by moderns. No complete building nor even any extensive ruin of theirs remains; we have only movables, and of buildings, fragments of fortress walls, tombs and gateways, and one or two structures in the city of Rome itself. Among those rough and unarchitectural structures there is one element introduced which is of surpassing importance to all subsequent time, the true arch built of voussoirs (separate wedge-shaped parts). This way of covering in a chamber or passage or spanning a doorway was known to the people of a remote antiquity in Egypt and in Western and Eastern Asia, but the people who built what we call Etruscan buildings were the first to use it commonly in Europe.

"Their gateways of fortified cities remain at Perugia

and Volterra, and the famous sewer which drained the Roman Forum, the Cloaca Maxima, was of the time of the semi-Etruscan Roman kings. Their temples have gone and of them only the account of Vitruvius remains. His work tells us that a great deal of wood was used in their construction; that practically only the substructure and the columns were of stone; that they were often built with three chambers side by side in the cella (the inner chamber), with a portico across the fronts of the three, making a structure nearly square. Buildings of that type undoubtedly existed in Rome even in the great days of the Empire, but the Roman temples were not the most characteristic or successful of the Roman buildings and, moreover, the Greek influence prevailed over the Etruscan in that as in other things."

Of the works of art produced by the Etruscans that have come down to later times are paintings and reliefs, statues, sarcophagi, terra cottas, bronzes of various kinds and golden ornaments. As to the painted vases known as Etruscan, they were for the most part imported from Attica. Indeed, in spite of the fact that there was a certain degree of hostility on the part of the Etruscans toward the Greeks, nevertheless a brisk trade was carried on between the two countries, and the Etruscans undoubtedly profited by the industrial and artistic skill of their neighbors. Pliny goes so far as to mention certain Greek artists by name: Eucheir, Diopus and Eugrammus, who settled in Etruria and gave the first impulse to plastic art in Italy.

Rome, which was a small town before the dominion of the Etruscans, received through them the structures necessary for an Etruscan capital. With the founding of the republic, the Romans constructed great works in aqueducts and road making rather than in what is commonly called fine architecture. It was the conquest of Greece that turned the thoughts of the Romans toward the fine arts, and with this came an invasion of Italy by Hellenic cul-

ture. But, altho the imitation of Greek works was an important factor in Rome and Greek sculptors flocked there, and notwithstanding the methodical pillage of Greece and Asia Minor, nevertheless there also was a parallel development of Roman art, which appears to be a continuation of an art indigenous to Italy rather than a degenerate form of that of Greece.

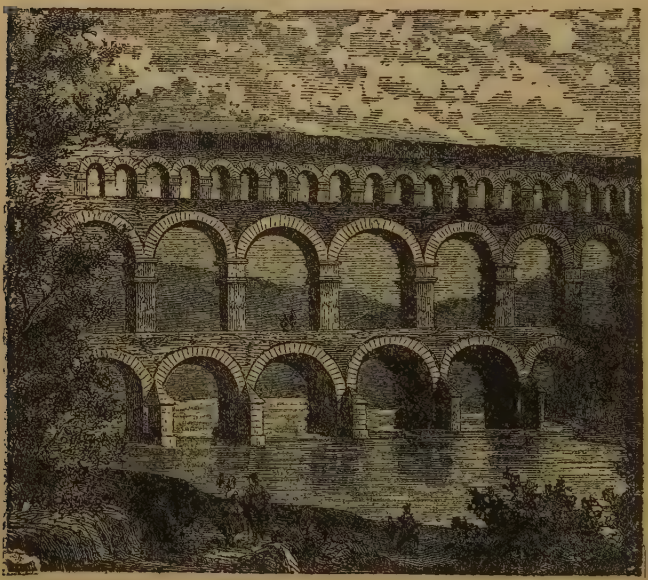


Fig. 33 —Roman Aqueduct and Viaduct; Perfect Development of Etruscan Arch.

Particularly is this the case with Roman architecture, for among Greeks art was an end, among the Romans it was a means. Among the Greeks material was large and no mortar was used, the buildings were modern in size and limited in character, simple in plan and lintel in style;

while among the Romans the material was small and mortar was employed, the buildings were enormous and diverse in character, the plans were various, while the arch, dome, semi-dome and vault were used.

But while the Romans borrowed the Corinthian style, they used it merely as a foundation for an individual development essentially characteristic of themselves. The temple of Vesta at Tivoli differs as much from the so-called

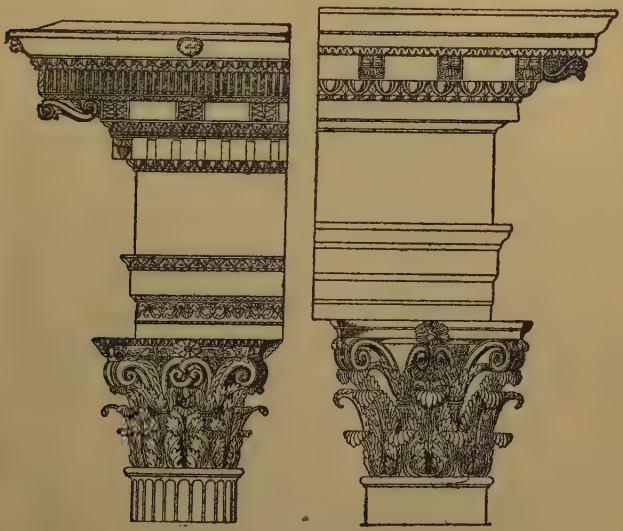


Fig. 34 —Roman Developments of Corinthian Order.

temple of Jupiter Stator as the latter differs from the tomb of Lysicrates. Nevertheless all three may be regarded as the most beautiful examples of the Corinthian order in existence, yet they do not possess a single proportion in common.

From the Corinthian order was developed the so-called composite order, which is even richer and more fantastic

and was probably first used in the Arch of Titus. The chief difference between this and the Corinthian is in the enlargement of the volute of the capital and the omission of the tendrils of the acanthus. Often, too, animals, the human figure and armor were introduced in the capitals of the columns.

But in addition to the lessons learned from Greece the Romans adopted and adapted other methods. To quote Sturgis again: "The Roman administrators had received from their Etruscan and other Italian models a disposition to use the arch and the vaulted roof. It is true that they

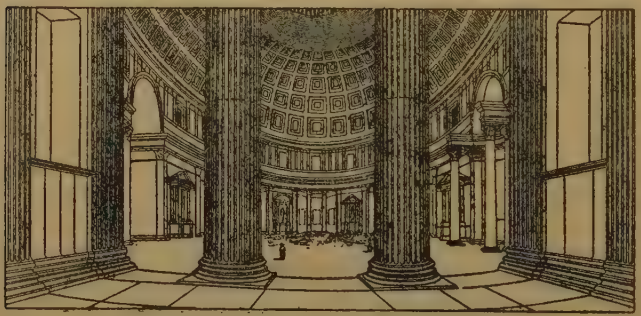


Fig. 35 —Interior of Pantheon, Rome.

used only the semi-circular arch alike for wall openings and for vaulted chambers, but this they used with freedom. They had also learned somewhere the lesson of strong mortar used in great quantities and of masonry of rough stone built with it. They had also learned how to make excellent bricks and in what way to use them. They had learned what concrete was, good ways of making it and what it was capable of."

The Pantheon stands to-day as an example of a combination of the various methods. Its portico is Greek in idea, if not in structure; the building proper, a huge cylindrical tower, surmounted by a cupola, Assyrian and Etruscan in

tendency, while the interior abounds in architectural forms, a happy blending of the various styles, with enough of the Roman in it to make it distinctly individual. Within recent years it has been definitely learned that the vault of the Pantheon was built in the time of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), not of Augustus as was previously supposed, and it is of importance inasmuch as it marks the adoption of a style of construction which in its further development produced Romanesque and indirectly Gothic architecture. Indeed vaulted architecture became an essential form of Roman construction, and Constantine's basilica, built in 305 A.D., with its three colossal vaults, marked an advance in architectural construction at a time when sculpture and the other arts had sunk to uniform mediocrity, and served as a model for the architects of the Renaissance. In addition to these types of buildings throughout the Roman possessions and in Rome are found baths, theaters, arenas, triumphal arches, aqueducts, roads, tombs and columns which bear mute, still eloquent, witness of the greatness of the Empire and prowess and skill of its architects and builders.

The immigration of sculptors to Rome naturally had an influence on sculpture. The Grecian schools of Pergamum and Rhodes had carried the element of pathos to the point of exaggeration, and about 100 B.C. a reaction set in, which turned the sculptors back to the fourth and fifth centuries in the search for models, and a certain calm pervaded the sculpture of that period. At the time of Sylla, Pompey and Octavian nearly all the eminent sculptors and brass casters were assembled in Rome, and among the names that are known are Pasiteles, Arcesilaus and Decius. The tendency to archaic types was at its height in the time of Augustus, and to this period belong the fragments of the Altar of Peace (13 B.C.).

"In the time of the Cæsars," says Muller, "the arts appear, from the general opinion, to have been degraded into the handmaids of the luxury and caprice of princes. 'The effeminacy of the times,' says Pliny, 'has annihilated the

arts, and because there are no longer any souls to represent, the body is also neglected.' However, there were ingenious and excellent sculptors who filled the palaces of the Cæsars with eminently beautiful groups."

"After the death of Trajan," writes Reinach, "a fresh Attic reaction took place, manifesting itself notably in the reign of Hadrian by the execution of a large number of copies of classic sculpture and by the creation of the ideal type of Antinous, the favorite of Hadrian, a type inspired by the traditions of the fourth and fifth centuries before Christ."

Fig. 36 —Restoration of Rome.

More essentially characteristic of the Romans than the ideal sculpture are the busts and statues, which may be divided into two classes. There are those that portray the individuality of the sitter without any attempt at exaltation and also preserve the costume of life. In this class belong statues on horseback and in triumphal cars. But another class of statue also was designed in which it was intended to exhibit the subject in an exalted heroic or deified character. In his "Romanische Kunst," Franz Wickoff, in speaking of these portrait statues, says: "One

merit has never been denied to Roman art and that is the excellence of its portraiture. Who has not seen in collections of antiques heads from the period of Vespasian to Trajan whose striking likenesses and apparently superficial technique adopted for a distinct purpose put one in mind of the best portraits of Velasquez and Franz Hals?

"Who has not realized as the processions of the Arch of Titus appear to glide by him or as the battle from the Forum of Trajan surges before his eyes, that he is standing before the products of a new art, which at the most has only a loose connection with that of Greece?"

Under the Roman emperors easel painting was neglected and wall painting was practiced. Pliny, in the time of Vespasian, regarded painting as a dying art, and he complains that with splendid colors nothing worth speaking of was produced. In Nero's reign Ludius introduced a comic human element into landscapes with sprightly results, and a portrait of that emperor, 120 feet high, was justly reckoned among the fooleries of the age. The numerous wall paintings extending from the reign of Augustus till that of the Antonines exhibit inexhaustible invention and productiveness. In the age of Hadrian painting revived with the other arts and Ætion has been ranked by contemporaries with the first masters. But in spite of this short respite, the decadence continued until, like other of the Roman arts, painting died.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE ART

In Egypt theology dominated art, giving to its paintings and sculptures certain rigid and fixed forms. In Assyria arose a certain mystic grandeur, also the result of religion, while, on the other hand, to the worship of beauty may be ascribed the distinctive achievements of Greek art. Accompanying the supremacy of the Roman Empire came a corresponding decadence of its art. But with the birth and spread of Christianity a new spirit was infused into art, which working in opposite lines from the worship of beauty and its natural sequence, sensuousness, ran counter to the pagan idea. Virtue supplanted beauty as an object to be represented, and its apotheosis may be found in the Renaissance. But before this was finally achieved there had been practically an eclipse of painting and sculpture.

Architecture is ever the first of the fine arts to be employed in the service of religion. "A house," says Hegel, "must be built for the god before the image of the god, carved in stone or figured in mosaic, can be placed there." And accordingly it is to architecture that the mind first turns to discover the influence of the new faith. "These new religious requirements," says A. Rosengarten in his 'Architectural Styles,' "demanded other architectural conditions than those which already existed, a new type of building was naturally necessitated. The deterioration of art, however, was so complete that the new require-

ments could not be supplied in an independent manner, but recourse was had to novel and peculiar combinations of old artistic forms. Consequently an ensemble arose constituting the Roman Early Christian style, which differed essentially from the styles already in existence.

"Through the division of the empire into the East and West (395 A.D.), and through the foundation of the new capital, Constantinople, on the site of the old Byzantium, a Byzantine art grew up side by side with the Roman Christian. Since the Christians, forming no distinct people and constituting no entire nationality, possessed no well defined art of their own, and were obliged to employ architects, builders and sculptors whom they found among the Greeks and Romans for the erection and adornment of their buildings, it may be easily supposed that the first Christian buildings did not differ materially from the heathen buildings which were already in existence."

One Roman building in particular exercised a great influence on Christian architecture. This was the Basilica, which was originally used as a meeting place and court-room and was deemed by the early Christians as an appropriate structure to transform into a church. Its principal feature is a long central nave, separated from the side aisles by arcades. At the back of the building is a gate called the triumphal, behind which a semi-circular projection, the apse, contains the seat of the magistrate. The Christians, recognising the practicability of this structure, placed the altar on the line of the apse, at the same time replacing the judge's seat with the bishop's throne and arranging seats around the apse for the fathers of the Church. To the worshippers the nave and aisles were given up and in some cases special arrangements made for the separation of the sexes. The exteriors were in most cases plain. Whatever decorations were employed were put in the interior and in many instances columns were taken from pagan temples to adorn the churches. Above the

arcade the walls rose to quite a height and on these in later times paintings were executed.

"The great prototype of this style," says Russel Sturgis in his "History of European Architecture," "is Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, built by the Emperor Justinian and partly rebuilt by him after an earthquake and finished as now in the year 561 A.D. How far this church was a new inspiration of the builders, reasoned out to meet the

Fig. 37 —Example of Earliest Christian Basilica.

requirements of the emperor that a church should be built exceeding all buildings on earth in extent and beauty, and how far it was based on previous monuments, we do not certainly know. The buildings which had been built by Greek builders in the great cities of the eastern half of the empire during the six centuries previous to this undertaking have perished. It is evident that very great credit must be given to Anthemios, the builder of Hagia Sophia,

and his assistant, Isidoros, for their boldness and skill. It is clear that they took a longer step in advance than it is

Fig. 38 —Interior of St. Sophia, Byzantine Style.

generally in the power of man to do in matters of fine art or building. The great dome is low rather than lofty and

107 feet in diameter. It rests upon four great arches which enclose a square. To the eastward and westward of this great square are half domes, which cover each a semi-circular drum, pierced by round apses, which are again covered by half cupolas penetrating the larger ones. The great dome is pierced just above its base by a number of small arched windows and similar windows pierce the semi-domes. All the weight of dome and semi-domes and of the great arches which carry the former rest on piers."

The other Byzantine churches resemble this one in plan and present the same essential characteristics, employing the dome almost universally. This mode of construction was known to the Assyrians and the tradition had been preserved in Persia, whence it spread into Syria, passing from there into Asia Minor, so that it is very probable that Byzantine style was founded on these Asiatic models.

The people of Russia received the first germs of civilization in their intercourse with the Byzantine provinces and accepted their style of architecture. They modified it to suit their purposes, and while many influences, particularly the inroads of the Tartars, wrought many changes, it still displays the source of its origin in the employment of the round arch and numerous domes and cupolas.

Moorish architecture also is another outgrowth of the Byzantine style. In the seventh century the Arabs invaded Syria and Egypt and found the tradition of the Byzantine architecture still flourishing. From it they developed an original style of which the mosques at Cairo and of Spain are examples. Arab art, faithful to the Koran, refrained from the representation of animal forms, which led to a rich variety of geometric motives. Hence the complicated system of ornamentation known as Arabesque.

In western Europe, too, the influence of Byzantine art made itself felt in many ways and in some cases, as at St. Mark's of Venice, it was employed exclusively. As a general rule, however, it was used in conjunction with the

Roman Early Christian style and from a mingling of the two were developed the later architectural methods. Other elements must not be overlooked in studying the architecture of the Middle Ages. The barbarians of the north, while they erected no stone buildings, had a decorative art quite distinct from the Greco-Roman style. Another influence which was felt at an early period was the Greco-Syrian. Marseilles was a Greek town and was the link between southern Gaul and the coast of Asia, and as early as the fifth century the western region of Asia, which was the site of the development of the Byzantine

Fig. 39 —Byzantine Capitals.

style, made its influence felt on Gaul, which was frequented by Asiatic workmen and merchants. Italy herself felt the Byzantine imprint more and more deeply and its influence in some cases was Byzantine rather than Italian. This mingling of Northern, Syrian, Asiatic and Byzantine elements, tho apparent, is difficult to analyze in the evolution which resulted in the formation of the Romanesque and Gothic art.

"Romanesque architecture," says Reinach, "marks the first stage of this progression, Gothic architecture the sec-

ond. Tracing the evolution of the Romanesque back to its source, we shall find that like the Gothic church it owed its origin to the Roman basilica of the fourth century, but when the architects rejected the timber roof as over liable to destruction by fire and also roofs constructed of large horizontal stones as involving immense labor and difficulty in transport and manipulation, they accordingly adopted the vault.

"The section of a vault may be semi-cylindrical or it may be a pointed arch; that is to say, an angle formed by the intersection of two arches. In the same way a lintel surmounting a door or window may be replaced by a round headed or a pointed arch. The round headed arch may be called the vital principle of Romanesque architecture, the pointed arch that of Gothic architecture."

The Romanesque church differs from the basilica, inasmuch as it was built in the form of a Latin cross; the nave or central aisle was intersected at a point two-thirds of its length by another aisle perpendicular to it called the transept. The transept was the same breadth as the nave, which in turn was twice as broad as the side aisles. However, the characteristic innovation was the introduction of vaulting. About 1050 A.D. the vaulted basilica arose. The system of vaulting which was adopted was essentially different from the dome system of Byzantine architecture.

"The arches that span the nave," says Rosengarten, "are not supported by pillars but by molded piers, which rise in conjunction with the walls of the nave. The rib vaultings which these piers support are sometimes molded, but generally not so, and the spaces between them are spanned by cross vaults, which terminate in a semi-dome high over the altar. The side aisles are vaulted in a similar manner. At the intersection of the nave and transept a dome borrowed from Byzantine architecture is generally introduced, but it is polygonal and not circular in shape. The form of arch universally employed is the semi-circular, which was often stilted above the semi-circle by straight haunches.

Toward the close of the Later Romanesque style the foliated arch became of frequent occurrence."

To support the weight of the vaults the thickness of the walls and pillars had to be increased, and as thick, solid walls admit of few apertures Romanesque churches are insufficiently lighted. These exigencies also prevented great height in Romanesque buildings, and while towers blending most harmoniously with the rest of the building tend to add to the appearance of height, nevertheless in spite of them there is a certain heaviness inseparable with this form of construction.

In France this style was employed at Cluny and numerous local schools sprang up in Burgundy, Auvergne and Perigord. In Germany a Lombard influence made itself felt and the cathedrals at Spires, Mayence and Worms are the marvelous results. In Italy the principal monument of Romanesque art is the Cathedral of Pisa. In northern France the Normans brought the Romanesque to such a state of perfection by the manner in which they developed the vaulted basilica and employed a rich treatment of details that the style there became distinctly individual. This style was introduced by them into England and modified by the English, it became known as the Norman style, the most notable example of which in church architecture is Norwich Cathedral; while the heavy and massive construction was peculiarly fitted to the castles of the feudal lords, for which it was also employed.

"The Gothic system," says Sturgis, "may be described as follows: All inner roofs or ceilings to be of masonry vaulting, composed of arched ribs, which are built first and which carry the weight and take the thrust of the shells of vaulting between them; these ribs meeting in groups generally of three or five upon points which are supported from below by slender pillars; all sideway thrusts taken up by the contrary action of other thrusts plus the necessary friction of the weight of masonry, except that at the outer perimeter of the building a buttress is set up outside to

resist by its dead weight the thrust of its outermost group of ribs; where this buttress would obstruct the free space of another enclosure, the necessary buttress moved away

Fig. 40 —Interior of Cathedral at Pisa, Romanesque Style.

and set up outside of the second enclosure and the thrust carried across this enclosed space overhead by means of a flying buttress.

"An attempt has been made to express all this epigram-

matically in the phrase 'a roof of stone with walls of glass,' and this is so far just that it is evident that there are no longer any walls in the sense of weight carrying structures. The walls of a true Gothic building are merely screens against the weather and against intrusion. One result of the Gothic structure was great lightness and slenderness of interior architecture, with the result that interior space is obtained in an unexpected and almost unexplained way by means of solid parts which seem insufficient on an imperfect examination."

Other characteristics of the Gothic structure are great height in proportion to the horizontal space and most profuse decoration both on the exterior and interior.

It is reasonably certain that the first Gothic churches were built in the Isle de France and Picardy and evolved there with great rapidity, the most noteworthy models being St. Denis, Church of Noyon, Notre Dame (Paris), Bourges, Chartres, Rheims and Amiens, all of which were begun between the years 1115 and 1215. In Germany the style made its appearance in 1209 at Magdeburg and propagated by the monks of Citeaux, it was employed at Strasburg and Cologne and then passed into the other European countries. In Italy it never attained the popularity enjoyed elsewhere. The first Gothic church there was designed by a German, and even Milan Cathedral is distinctly Teutonic in character. In England it was introduced almost the same time as in France and assumed a national character, the characteristics being structural sobriety and solidity, with a predominance of vertical lines. Canterbury, Lincoln, Westminster and Salisbury cathedrals are examples of its use. While churches were not the sole fruit of either Gothic or Romanesque architecture, they have been taken as most characteristic examples of the construction. Castles, abbeys, private houses, town halls multiplied throughout Europe in both styles.

As a general thing, however, sculpture on account of its

Fig. 41 —Cathedral at Bourges. Gothic Style.

close association with heathen idols, was too repugnant to the early Christians to be employed by them, with the result that painting was their principal medium of decoration. Richard Muther, writing of the very early Christian artists in his "History of Painting," says: "But as these artists were Romans, it is at the same time inexplicable why the first works of art were less Christian than antique. It is the affair of the theologian to describe how painting began as a language of signs and to explain all those symbols, the cross, the fish, the lamb, the dove and the phenix which as a kind of hieroglyphic writing, open the history of Christian art. The archeologist must explain why in the pictures of the catacombs, altho they express a new spirit, the forms of the antique were used without reserve. All these mural paintings, Hermes Bearing the Ram, Orpheus Playing the Lute or other figures borrowed from paganism and now introduced with Christian change of meaning are joyful and bright. As in the mural paintings of Pompeii, the entire treatment is decorative in a pleasant sense.

"Not until after the first churches were constructed and Christianity represented no longer a sect but the ruling state religion could a Christian art develop. The symbolic element borrowed from the antique becomes less prominent and the sacred personages of Christian art receive their fixed types. This development is reflected in Mosaics. A solemn repose characterizes all these figures. Motionless as statues they are enthroned in simple symmetry."

The principal seat of this art was Byzantium, and its splendor of coloring is essentially Eastern. In addition to the mosaics, bas reliefs in ivory and metals, enamels, paintings on parchments and goldsmith's work executed with great technical skill have come down. With the development of the Romanesque and Gothic architecture painting fell into neglect on account of the construction of the churches, for the former were dark and the latter had very few flat surfaces. But the windows of the

Gothic churches offered an exceptional opportunity for painted glass and these window paintings were inseparable

Fig. 42 —Early Painting from the Catacombs.

from Gothic art. In addition to glass painting the illumination of manuscripts also was practiced.

The sculpture in both styles of churches is distinctive. In the Romanesque it was usually executed by monks while sculptors were employed in the Gothic and the extent to which it was carried may be judged from the fact that Chartres Cathedral has 10,000 ornamental figures. Romanesque sculpture, while majestic and powerful, is at the same time conventional and indifferent to reality, while Gothic art appeared as a revival of realism. Particularly is this the case with the flowers and foliage which adorn their churches. In fact, in the Gothic churches the imagers sought, as M. E. Hale says, "to epitomize all the knowledge of their contemporaries, for the first aim of their art is not to please but to teach. They offer an encyclopedia for the use of those who cannot read, translated by the sculptor in a clear and precise language which all may understand."

Gothic sculpture did not content itself with the decoration of cathedrals. It also found expression in memorial tombs with recumbent figures which developed into naturalistic portraiture, statuettes and bas reliefs in wood and ivory, painted and gilded. These rank as masterpieces of Gothic art, which after all stands nearer to the Greek than to the Byzantine school.

CHAPTER V

ARCHITECTURE DURING AND AFTER THE RENAISSANCE

THE term "Renaissance" is not entirely correct, for it implies two mistaken ideas—that art was dead and that it arose again in its old form. As a fact, art was not dead and at the beginning of the revival classic art found disciples but not copyists. The new art which borrowed the forms and settings of antiquity was animated by a very different spirit, a spirit modified by ten centuries of Christianity. In Italy Gothic art never took a firm hold and when a taste for the literature and history of the ancients drew attention to the existing monuments the Italian architects found in Greco-Roman architecture a style more suited to themselves.

"Three periods in the development of Renaissance architecture may be roughly marked," says Symonds in his 'Renaissance in Italy.' "The first, extending from 1420 to 1500, is the age of experiment and luxuriant inventiveness; the second embraces the first forty years of the sixteenth century. The most perfect buildings of the Italian Renaissance were produced within this short space of time. The third, again comprising about forty years from 1540 to 1580, leads onward to the reign of mannerism and exaggeration called by the Italians 'barocco.'"

The first evidence of a new style was seen in Florence, where purity of taste and good judgment were always distinctive characteristics. Brunelleschi (1337-1446) in 1425 designed the basilica of St. Lorenz and from 1420 to 1434,

under his guidance, the dome of the Cathedral of Florence was raised to a height of 300 feet, and likewise to his genius the Pitti Palace, a monument of robust simplicity and massive strength, may be credited.

Contemporary with Brunelleschi was Leo Battista Alberti (1405-1472), also a Florentine, who, working on different principles, endeavored to reproduce more closely Roman architecture. His are the churches of St. Francesco at Rimini and St. Andrea at Mantua and also the Rucellai Palace, in which many details of the early Tuscan style are combined with transcripts from Roman ruins in a manner so successful as to make it a model for subsequent architects. Michelozzo (1391-1472) designed on classical lines the Riccardi Palace, the residence of the Medici, about 1430, which was also followed by Benedetto da Majano (1442-1497) in the construction of the Strozzi Palace in 1489.

"To Bramante (1444-1514) must be assigned," comments Symonds, "the foremost place among architects of the golden age. Tho little of his work survives unspoiled, it is clear that he exercised the profoundest influence over both successors and contemporaries. What they chiefly owed to him was the proper subordination of beauty in details to the grandeur of simplicity and to unity of effect. His early training accustomed him to the adoption of clustered piers instead of single columns, to semi-circular apses and niches and to the free use of minor cupolas—elements of design introduced neither by Brunelleschi nor Alberti into the Renaissance style of Florence, but which were destined to determine the future of architecture for all Italy." The Church of St. Maria at Lodi, the Palace of Cancelleria at Rome and the Cathedral of Pavia were designed by him, while St. Peter's, in spite of all subsequent modifications, bears the imprint of his genius.

His work was carried on by his pupils, Rocchi and Vitoni at Pavia and Pistoja, while his influence was propagated at Rome through Raphael (1483-1520), whose claim to con-

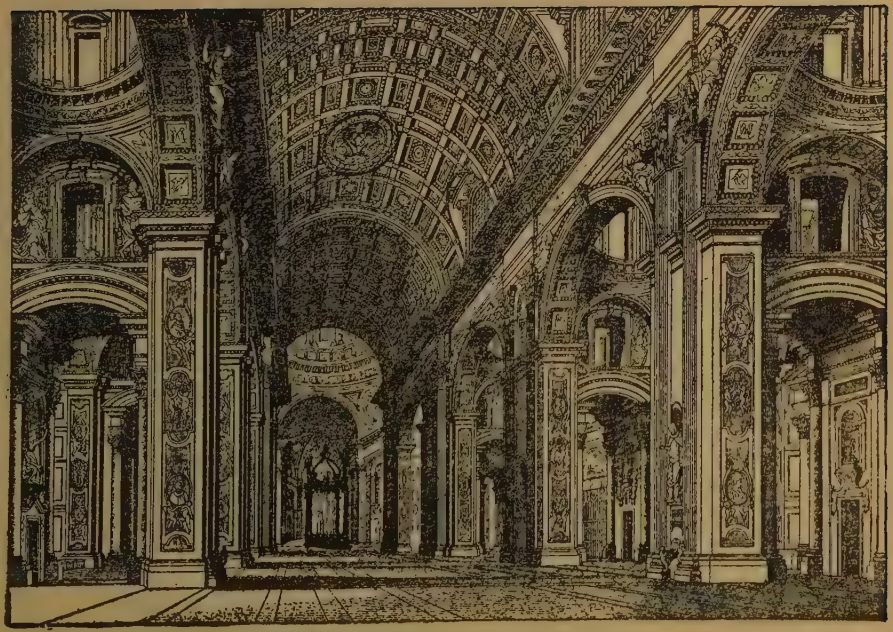


Fig. 44 —Interior of St. Peter's, Rome.

sideration as an architect rests upon the Palazi Vidoni and Pandolfini; Giulo Romano (1499-1546), whose masterpiece is the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, the most noble of the Italian places of amusement, and Peruzzi, the designer of the Villa Farnesina. In this period likewise belong Sansovino's (1477-1570) buildings at Venice, tho in style they approach the earlier Renaissance. The Court of the Ducal Palace and the Scuola di St. Rocco display the strong and florid style so popular during the second period in Venice, the crowning achievement of which is the Library of St. Mark, with its double row of open arches.

The greatest name, however, of the entire period must be added to the list of builders of the Golden Age. In his "Life of Michael Angelo" Herman Grimm says: "Michael Angelo (1475-1563) began late to come forward as an architect on a large scale. The art was not foreign to him from the first. The first time that he appeared as an architect was in the facade of San Lorenzo. This was followed by the sacristy and the library; these established his reputation and his school.

"He was the first to imagine the colossal in a colossal manner. And in this way he devised the dome of St. Peter's. The small does not become colossal by making it double or threefold; magnitude must belong to the form when it is devised. In this spirit Michael Angelo made his plan. So colossal is his St. Peter's that while all that Bramante and his like executed appears as the amplification of ideas originally small, the very imitations of St. Peter's on a reduced scale always have a colossal effect."

"Michael Angelo forms the link," says Symonds, "between the second and third periods of the Renaissance. A new age had now begun for Italy. The glory and grace of the Renaissance, its blooming time of beauty and its springtide of strength were over. A colder and more formal spirit everywhere prevailed. The greatest builder of the period was Andrea Palladio (1518-1580), who combined a more complete analytical knowledge of antiquity

with a firmer adherence to rule and precedent than even the most imitative of his forerunners. All is cold and calculating in the many palaces and churches of this master which adorn both Venice and Vicenza. They make us feel that creative inspiration has been superseded by the labor of calculating reason, and the minute analysis of antique treatises on the art of construction led to formation of exact rules. Thus architecture passed into scholasticism."

In the northern countries Gothic architecture continued for about a hundred years to the exclusion of the style of the Renaissance, and in France became known as the Flamboyant, reaching its height in the time of Louis XI. "It seems impossible," says Sturgis, "to carry the art of pierced work and tracery farther, and yet in the hands of consummate artists between 1488 and 1510 the buildings keep the appearance of stone structures and have none of the cold look as of a piece of cast iron toward which this florid late Gothic tended."

Three French architects, Pierre Lescot (1510-1578), who built the western façade of the Louvre, Jean Bullant (1515-1578), who designed the Château of Ecouen and began the Tuileries, and Philibert Delorme, who completed it, were the master architects of the French Renaissance and became as widely known as the Italian architects of a century before; and altho they succeeded in imparting a peculiar grace to the style, nevertheless the French Renaissance never attained the purity of design which was characteristic of the Italian.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the better tendencies of the Renaissance disappeared, and there developed a sad, lofty and solemn style, in which symmetry was the supreme law, and picturesque and unexpected elements were avoided. The architect of Louis XIV., who was then King, Jules Mansard (1646-1708), builder of Versailles, Marly, the Grand Trianon and the Invalides, was the leader of this Academic style. The interior system of decoration was also modified and mirrors were

freely introduced as an element of decoration, especially in connection with the fireplaces and became quite a distinctive feature of the style.

With the death of Mansard a change occurred in the system of interior decoration and sylvan buildings, the delightful art of the eighteenth century showing its influence in the formation of the Rococo style. Its origin is most likely to be found in the ornamentation of furniture and eventually was employed in rooms. Pilasters, colonnades and flat moldings gave place to garlands, festoons and shells, a profusion of sinuous lines entwining and interlacing. But in all this, an exquisite sense of proportion and marvelous dexterity are displayed.

Toward the end of the reign of Louis XV. a reaction set in, in favor of the antique, which reached its height at the time of Napoleon, and hence it is called the Empire style, though in reality it was but a revival of the Academic. It began with the building of the Colonnade de la Place de Concorde and the Church of Ste. Genevieve, subsequently called the Pantheon, and reached such a state of imitation that copies of Roman monuments were set up in Paris, as the Madeleine, the triumphal arches of the Carrousel and the Etoile, and the Vendome Column.

In England Gothic Architecture endured longer than elsewhere, and was revived under the name of Tudor Style, to which belong the royal chapels of St. George at Windsor and Henry VII. Chapel, Westminster Abbey and Hampton Court. This was superseded by a variation known as the Elizabethan, in which every detail having a Gothic appearance was eliminated and scraps of classical detail substituted.

In the time of Charles II., Sir Christopher Wren was the master-builder. Influenced by the structures of France his imprint left a Gallic note in all English structures up to the middle of the eighteenth century. But his own productions show that he had imbibed much of the spirit of antiquity, together with the grace and elegance of the

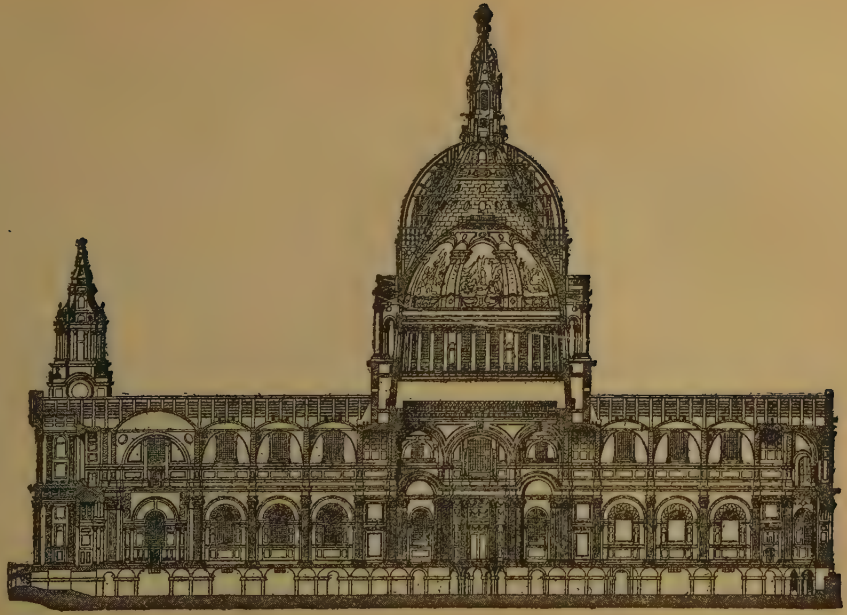


Fig. 45 —St. Paul's, London, Late English Renaissance.

earlier English styles, yet in all of his designs there is a degree of incongruity which no beauty of general proportion can redeem. St. Paul's, his most famous work, is in every way excellent for interior effect. The great octagon, the interior cupola and the pilasters are superior in design and, excepting St. Peter's, there is no interior cupola more beautiful and more adapted to the church of which it is a part; the exterior is not so successful and the introduction of extraneous details and the mixture of styles mar its beauty as a whole.

Following Wren came Vanbrugh, the designer of Castle Howard, classical in style, and James Gibbs, a successful constructor of churches. The architecture of the reigns of George II. and George III. concerns itself rather with interiors, introducing a certain picturesqueness of detail, and in America—where it was transported—became known as the Old Colonial Style.

Of late years attempts at the formation of a new style have been made, particularly in Belgium, where Hankar and Horta endeavored to apply principles to exterior decoration which had been enunciated in England by Ruskin and Morris as applicable to the interior of houses; this movement has been carried a step further by Oscar Wagner, an Austrian, and has been termed Secessionistic or Art Nouveau. At the present time it has been carried to the point of exaggeration, resulting in freakish efforts. This, however, is often the case with new methods; in the course of a comparatively few years its determination "to belong to its own times and to reject anachronisms" may lead to the evolution of a Twentieth Century Style.

CHAPTER VI

ITALIAN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING OF THE RENAISSANCE

Coincidently with the erection of churches, the art of sculpture reawakened, and after the lapse of a thousand years the repugnance of the plastic idea was modified in the Christian mind, and what had been essentially Pagan was employed for the glorification of religion. The sculpture of the Renaissance, however, is not in any sense an imitation of antique models. It is the logical development of Gothic sculpture which had been hampered by the prejudices of the age and the nature of the monuments it adorned.

"It was Nicola Pisano (1200[?]-1278)," says Symonds, "architect and sculptor, who first breathed with the breath of genius, life into the dead forms of plastic art. From him we date the dawn of the esthetical Renaissance with the same certainty as from Petrarch that of humanism, for he determined the direction not only of sculpture, but also of painting in Italy." Lord Lindsay, in his 'Sketches of the History of Christian Art,' writes: "Neither Dante nor Shakespeare can boast such extent and durability of influence; for whatever of highest excellence has been achieved in sculpture and painting, not in Italy only, but throughout Europe, has been in obedience to the impulse he primarily gave, and in following up the principle which he first struck out." Giovanni Pisano (1240[?]-1320), his son, also was a sculptor of renown who profited by the labors of his father, and carried the new art into the regions of dramatic action.

Florentine sculpture, however, may be rightly considered to have begun with Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1465), whose life-work is represented in the bronze doors of the baptistery at Florence, of one of which Michael Angelo said it was "worthy to adorn the Gates of Paradise," and transformed some of the figures to gigantic size and employed them on the ceiling decorations of the Sistine Chapel.

The study of the antique undoubtedly gave Ghiberti the first step in a new direction. His most powerful rival, Donatello (1386-1466), took a different path. "While Ghiberti," says Herman Grimm, "knew how to give a certain grace to his figures and agreeable elegance to his ornaments, and, by equally finishing all detail, aimed at working the separate parts into the most favorable complete effect, Donatello gave himself vigorously to the regardless imitation of Nature as she appeared in his eyes." Instead of obtaining spiritual beauty by an idealization of his models, he realizes it by selecting the type of feature and the pose of body to interpret their animating impulse. Among his numerous works in marble and bronze are the monuments of 'Pope John XXIII.,' of 'Cardinal Bronacci,' the bas-reliefs of singing and dancing boys, the group of 'Judith and Holofernes' and the equestrian statue of 'Gattamelata.'

Lucca della Robbia (1400-1480) differed from Ghiberti and Donatello in making his art true to life, without the "rugged realism of Donatello, or the somewhat effeminate graces of Ghiberti." Restraining himself for the most part to glazed blue and white earthen ware, he produced a series of bas-reliefs of Madonnas and children, wholly sincere and effective, without the employment of decorative detail. Andrea della Robbia, his nephew, continued the manufacture of the Lucca inventions.

In Andrea Sansovina (1460-1529) and Jacopo Tatti (1486-1570), his pupil and hence called Sansovino, are found two artists who continued the Florentine tradition. The latter, reconciling the Classic and Christian spirit,

marks the final intrusion of paganism into Art. "Sansovino himself," says Symonds, "was neither original nor powerful enough to elevate the mixed motives of Renaissance sculpture by any lofty idealization. To do that remained for Michael Angelo. The greatness of Michael Angelo consists in this—that while literature was sinking into the frivolities of Academics and while sensual magnificence formed the ideal of artists who were neither Greek nor Christians, he and he alone maintained the Dantesque dignity of the Italian intellect in his sculpture."

"He worked more unconcernedly," says Grimm, "than the ancient masters had done. Public opinion, exercised to such an unlimited extent, was a check upon them. They could neither ignore, nor could they escape the influence of what had been done before them, and what took place around them. Michael Angelo was fettered by nothing. As no path lay before him which others had cut out, he remained unbiased in the choice whither he would turn. He imitated accidental positions in the naked body with an accuracy which the Greeks never obtained. He chiseled wrinkles in the skin which would have been impossible to an antique sculptor; he represented protuberant compressed muscles rigidly and strongly as no antique work has done. He studied the ancients, but he imitated nothing. Wholly independently, Michael Angelo advanced forward." A few of his more important works in sculpture are "St. John," "Drunken Bacchus," "the Pieta," "David," "Moses," "Aurora," "Twilight," "Day," "Night," "Lorenzo and Giuliano de Medici" and the "Prisoner."

His pupils, Raffael da Montelupo (1505-1567) and Gian Montorsoli (1507-1563), imitated his mannerisms, fancying that dignity and beauty were to be obtained by placing figures in contorted positions and exaggerating the muscular anatomy. Two exceptions stand out among the sculptors who followed Michael Angelo. Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571) and Gian Bologna (1524-1608) display in their

works much that is original and excellent, tho the motives of both had been treated better in the age of Greek sincerity.

The development of Painting in Italy during the Renaissance went hand in hand with sculpture. In the beginning, it clung to the Byzantine traditions and the first Florentine painter, or rather artist, of note, Cimambue (1240[?]-1302[?]), was chiefly a worker in Mosiac, who adhered closely to the earlier influences, but exhibits at least a distinct endeavor to express emotion and depict life.

The first Florentine painter whose works are known with certainty was Cimambue's pupil, Giotto (1276-1337), of whom Ruskin says: "In the one principle of close imitation to Nature lay Giotto's great strength and the entire secret of the revolution he effected. It was not by greater learning nor by the discovery of new theories of art; not by greater taste, nor by 'ideal' principles of selection, that he became the head of the progressive schools of Italy. It was simply by being interested in what was going on around him, by substituting the gestures of living men for conventional attitudes, and portraits of living men for conventional faces, and incidents of every-day life for conventional circumstances, that he became great, and the master of the great." Most of Giotto's work was done directly on the walls of the churches, and to understand him, and in fact nearly all the other Italian masters, it is necessary to see his frescoes; the most prominent of which are the 'Meeting of St. Joachim and St. Anna' and the 'Birth of the Virgin' in Santa Maria Novella at Florence, and the series illustrating the Life of St. Francis of Assisi in the Bardi Chapel Santa Croce, also at Florence.

The next great artist of the Florentine School was Fra Angelico (1387-1455). "Of all the painters of this period," writes Symonds, "he most successfully resisted the persuasions of the Renaissance and perfected an art that owed little to sympathy with the external world. His world is a strange one, one where the people are embodied

Fig. 46 —Altar-piece by Giotto.

ecstasies, the colors tints from evening clouds, the scenery a flood of light or a background of illuminated gold."

Sandro Botticelli (1444-1510) was a pupil of Fra Lippo Lippi (1406-1469), and Ruskin deemed him the only painter of Italy who understood the thoughts of the heathens and Christians, equally, and could, in a measure, paint both Aphrodite and the Madonna. "Educated," says Bernhard Berenson, in his "Florentine Painters of the Renaissance," "in a period of triumphant realism, he plunged at first into mere representation with almost self-obliterating earnestness; yet in his best years he left everything, even spiritual signifiance, behind him, and abandoned himself to the presentation of those qualities alone which in a picture are directly life-communicating and life-enhancing."

To this period belong Piero della Francesca (1414-1492), an Umbrian, whose awkward figures carry with them a note of melancholy; his pupil, Luca Signarelli (1441-1523), who anticipated Michael Angelo in the study of artistic anatomy; Andrea Verocchio (1435-1488), the sculptor, who introduced landscapes in his pictures which display a fine feeling for light and air; Piero di Cosimo (1462-1521), a painter of charming idylls; Filippino Lippi (1457-1504), a son of Fra Lippo Lippi and a pupil of Botticelli, whose work his resembles, and Domenico Ghirlandajo (1449-1494), to whom Symonds attributes the most comprehensive intellect and most complete mastery of art of all the painters of the early Renaissance.

The Umbrian School had been founded by Gentile da Fabriano (1360-1428) and was really a continuation of that of Siena. By the middle of the fifteenth century it had produced works of "soft and dulcet suavity" as opposed to the "austere elegance" of the Florentines. Pietro Vannuci (1446-1523), known as Perugino, was one of its masters in whose work, says Vernon Lee, "There is nothing but the one all-absorbing, abstract devotional reel-

ing—intense passive contemplation of the unattainable good; souls purged of every human desire, or will, isolated from all human affection and action—souls which have long since ceased to be human beings and can never become angels." Among his successors was Pinturicchio (1454-1513), whom Eugene Muntz describes as "worldly by nature, he shrinks from any expression of deep feeling and is only at ease when in the midst of splendid costumes, surrounded by a motley crowd and in a sumptuous setting. To spend his talent with lavish extravagance to amuse, to dazzle—that was his ambition; and it is one in which he often succeeds."

In Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) the entire Renaissance found expression. In addition to being a painter and sculptor, he was a poet and musician, while he also mastered anatomy, engineering, optics, zoölogy and geology. "There was no branch of study," writes Symonds, "whereby nature through the effort of the inquisitive intellect might be subordinated to the use of man, of which he was not master."

Jean Paul Richter deems Da Vinci alone in the history of art, as one who both conceived and realized ideals which were wholly independent of the antique. He was the first who ventured to base all art instruction exclusively and entirely upon the study of nature; and it is not too much to say that in his genius the aims of his numerous predecessors culminate, making art no longer dependent upon tradition, but upon the immediate study of Nature herself.

Besides numerous drawings which rank as masterpieces of the Renaissance, but four finished paintings by Leonardo are known. "The Last Supper," painted on the wall of the refectory at Santa Maria della Grazie, at Milan, is a wreck; "The Virgin Among the Rocks," "The Virgin with St. Anne" and the portrait of Monna Lisa Giocondo, which as early as the middle of the sixteenth century was regarded in Italy as the masterpiece of the art of portraiture. In the three easel pictures, all of which have

Monna Lisa. (By Leonardo da Vinci.)

landscape backgrounds, the influence of his master—Verocchio—is felt. But it is only a suggestive influence, not an imitation, for as Pater in his "Studies in the History of the Renaissance" says, "In him first appears the taste for what is bizarre or recherché in landscape, hollow places full of the green shadow of bituminous rocks, ridged reefs of trap-rock, which cut the water into quaint sheets of light. His landscape is the landscape not of dreams or of fancy, but of places far withdrawn, and hours selected from a thousand with a miracle of finesse."

At Florence the development of the school proceeded on new lines. The first Florentine who competed with the Venetians in the warm brilliancy of color on a golden base, tho he did not equal them, was Fra Bartolommeo (1475-1517). In his pupil, Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531), the charm of color is still more evident, combined with a keen appreciation of beauty of line. Eugene Muntz, in his "Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance," says: "No painter has excelled him in the rendering of flesh—a rendering not dependent upon color alone, for even in his drawings the hands and cheeks wonderfully suggest the soft round elastic quality of flesh. No painter, moreover, has surpassed him in his grasp of the infinite resources of the palette." What he lacked to make him the equal of the greatest was conviction.

"Michael Angelo's genius, like that of Homer among the ancients," says Eugene Delacroix, "is the fountain head from which all great painters since have drunk." Aside from one easel picture, a Holy Family, which is a colored cartoon, by his painting is implied the decoration of the Sistine Chapel in the which there are about three hundred and fifty figures, more than two hundred of which are important and many colossal in size. "The work," writes Sidney Colvin, "represents all the powers of Michael Angelo at their best. His sublimity, often in excess of the occasion, is here no more than equal to it; moreover it is combined with the noblest elements of grace, even of ten-

derness. Whatever the soul of this great Florentine, the spiritual heir of Dante, with Christianity of the Middle Age not shaken in his mind, but expanded and transcendentalized by the knowledge and love of Plato—whatever the soul of such a man, full of suppressed tenderness and righteous indignation, and of anxious questionings of coming fate, could conceive, that Michael Angelo has expressed or shadowed forth in this great and significant scheme of paintings."

With Michael Angelo the Florentine school died; in Raphael (1483-1520) the Umbrian school springs into prominence. As Bernhard Berenson has pointed out, "space composition" was the problem which the Umbrians worked out. Perugino was a master of it, but Raphael developed it to its full extent. At first under the sway of Perugino, from which he was drawn by the magic spell of Michael Angelo and Leonardo and emerged the archpriest of sensuous and spiritual beauty.

Antonio Allegri (1494-1534), known as Correggio, is considered by Symonds one of the four great painters in Italy during the Renaissance, outside of Venice. "The cheerfulness of Raphael," says Symonds, "the wizardry of Leonardo and the boldness of Michael Angelo met in him to form a new style, the originality of which takes us captive, not by intellectual power, but by the impulse of emotion. He created a world of human beings whose existence is an innocent and radiant wantonness."

Sensuousness was rife in the Venetian school. The Vivarni family of Murano, the founders of the school, seized upon brilliancy of color as a keynote for their pictures; this was continued by the Bellini, the greatest of whom was Giovanni (1428[?]-1516). Ruskin in his "Stones of Venice" says of him: "Giovanni Bellini is the only artist who appears to me to have united in equal and magnificent measures, justness of drawing, nobleness of coloring and perfect manliness of treatment with the purest religious feeling."

"It is to Titian" (1477-1576), declared Sir Joshua Reynolds in his "Discourses," "we must turn our eyes to find excellence with regard to color, and light and shade, in the highest degree. He was both the first and greatest master of this art. By a few strokes he knew how to mark the image and character of whatever object he attempted, and produced by this alone, a truer representation than his master, Giovanni Bellini, or any of his predecessors who finished every hair."

His 'Assumption of the Madonna' has been described as a symphony of color where every line is brought into harmonious combination—a symphony of movement where every line contributes to melodious rhythm; a symphony of light without a cloud, a symphony of joy in which the heavens and earth sing Hallelujah! In his portrait of a 'Man with a Glove' he has achieved the utmost heights which portraiture can attain; his 'Entombment' ranks as one of the most complete masterpieces in the world, while the 'Sacred and Profane Love,' the 'Madonna with the Cherries' and his 'Flora' contain a certain dramatic and impassioned element, combined with a color which he seems to have stolen from Venetian sunsets.

The true Venetian Michael Angelo, however, was Tintoretto (1518-1594), the most vigorous and prolific creator of all. Canvases twenty, forty, and seventy feet, containing a multitude of figures as large as life, foreshortened and in the most violent action, enveloped in marvelous effects of light and color, justify Taine in calling him a Michael Angelo with a color sense. His 'Marriage at Cana,' his 'Annunciation,' his 'Marriage of Bacchus and Ariadne,' and the 'Miracle of St. Mark,' proclaim him a master of grandiose effects in light and shade, a draughtsman distinguished if brutal, and a colorist who carried on the silvery tones of Titian's later manner.

Paolo Caliari (1528-1588), known as Veronese, continued the silver age of Venetian painting. As a colorist pure and simple, nor as a draughtsman, did he equal Titian,

but as a painter he is the apogee of the school. His canvases, like Tintoretto's, are large, filled with life-sized figures, but the gorgeous side rather than the strenuous he depicted. Silks, satins, banners, armorers and brocaded canopies and Palladium architecture are the accessories he employs to give a sense of grandeur to his works.

"Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese," Symonds writes, "were children of the people, men of the world, men of pleasure; wealthy, urbane, independent, pious—they were all these by turns—but they were never mystics, scholars, or philosophers."

The Renaissance continued longer at Venice than in other Italian cities and as late as the seventeenth century produced Tiepolo (1696-1770), who may also be considered the first of the Moderns. Continuing the gorgeousness of Tintoretto and Veronese, he mingled piety and worldliness and in many ways inspired all of the decorators of the nineteenth century. The Venetian School, in direct and indirect ways, played the principal part in the development of modern painting, while outside of the Pre-Raphaelite movement in England in the nineteenth century, Florentine art produced no distinct movements.

CHAPTER VI

THE RENAISSANCE IN NORTHERN EUROPE

THE Renaissance in the various countries of Northern Europe found itself modified in each by the character of the people. Upon the Flemings, a practical race, mysticism never took a firm hold, and accordingly, almost from the beginning, realism was a characteristic of their art. As among all other nations, the first essays in Flemish art were of a religious nature, but at a very early stage, portraiture became an important branch, while landscape and allegorical subjects likewise were painted. Uninfluenced by Antique, Byzantine or Italian models, an art sprang up indigenous of the soil, expressing pronounced realistic tendencies in color, tone, light and textures, and characterized by excellence in technical methods and close observation of nature; and by the middle of the fifteenth century Flemish painting was recognised even by the Italians who, altho they were superior to the Flemings in decorative style, did not equal them in rendering life.

The predecessors of Hubert (1366[?]-1426) and Jan van Eyck (1382[?]-1441) are not known, but with them Flemish art began and was essentially developed. Of the older brother Wilhelm Lübke writes, "Hubert van Eyck exerted a more direct influence upon his epoch than almost any other painter, and carried the whole art of painting of his century to new and surprising developments. For the novel requirements of his art, he in-

vented new aids in the preparation and employment of colors. He made marvelous progress in the use of oil as a medium through which it now became possible to secure a depth and clearness of tone heretofore unknown, and an incomparably delicate gradation of colors, so that his pictures amazed his contemporaries by their complete resemblance to reality."

The Ghent altar-piece better known as the world-famous 'Adoration of the Lamb,' was the work of the two brothers. How much Hubert left unfinished at his death to be completed by Jan is uncertain, but it is reasonably sure that most of the panels are by his hand. Jan, however, is much in advance of his brother in many qualities. The last vestiges of the art of the Middle Ages are absent in his work, and he stands firmly planted in the soil of modern times, while his portraits of the two donors of the altar-piece are the first real portraits in modern art.

At Brussels Roger van der Weyden (1369-1464) was essentially different in his art. While the Van Eycks were unconcerned with suffering or anguish and painted rather the more cheerful side, Van der Weyden "spoke in words of thunder." Suffering was his only theme, and to express it, he did not hesitate to depict most gruesome details. But the note of tragic despair in his 'Descent from the Cross' rings true and explains the tremendous influence of his works, not only on Flemish, but also Italian painters.

In Hans Memling (1430-1495) Flemish art found a new interpreter of the romantic longing and freshly awakened religious enthusiasm. Muther, in characterizing his work, says, "While Jan van Eyck was enamored of the splendor of the world, and Roger, the painter of pathos, depicted careworn matrons, Memling's works are pervaded by a mild, lyric sentiment, a breath of feminine blessedness." He has painted but a single picture which displays familiarity with Italian art—the 'Madonna' of the Vienna museum; in his other works, he preferred the as-

Fig. 47 —Adoration of the Lamb, by Van Eyck.

piring Gothic as being in harmony with his spiritual figures.

In Sculpture the first Fleming to attain distinction was Claux Sutler, a master of expressive realism. The 'Well of Moses,' a logical development of the style of the Gothic imagers, was finished previous to Ghiberti's gates at Florence, and produced as vital an effect in the North as the gates did in Italy.

The French branch of Flemish art added to the realism of the Flemings the taste for elegance of the French which chastened and refined it. It had its beginnings in Jean Foucault (1415-1485), who, in spite of a visit to Italy, resembles the Flemings more than the Italians. In the sixteenth century Jean (d. 1540) and François Clouet (1500-1572) painted a number of court portraits which presage in classic spirit the works of the seventeenth century.

In Germany, during the fourteenth century, Herman Wynrich, a pupil of Wilhelm of Herle, infused a spirit of youth into painting, which up to his time had shared the rigidity and awkwardness common to all medieval art.

"It is hardly proper," writes Muther, "to speak of a style of German art during the fifteenth century. The problem was only to narrate a theme as clearly as possible and to impart strict religious instruction. This was done by the painters with rustic coarseness. It is not necessary to assume that they acquired their knowledge from Roger van der Weyden; rather from the same requirements a similar style resulted."

Albrecht Durer (1471-1528) is Germany's first great artist, and as a thinker as well deserves a place beside Leonardo and Michael Angelo. A native of Nuremberg and a pupil of Wohlgemuth, he visited Italy, where his genius was recognised. Arséne Alexandre, in his 'Histoire de la Peinture,' says of him, "Durer is the most perfectly balanced representative of the German genius; of its gravity, its conscientiousness, its rich imaginative and

Fig. 48 —St. Jerome in Penitence, by Durer. (Engraving.)

poetic quality. This balance he attained partly through his wonderfully thoro knowledge of the technique of his profession, partly through an artistic education which resulted in an enlightened eclecticism of style—an eclecticism always dominated by a great loyalty to his race; for tho he loved Italian art and had studied it in all its processes, he was neither dazzled nor seduced by it. He gave the Italians quite as much as he received from them. If he borrowed something of their opulence and grace, they in turn profited by his precision, clearness, skill and sanity. Furthermore, whatever richness of color Dürer gained in Italy, he at least maintained if he did not increase through his relations with the Netherlands. He thus becomes in some sort a harmonious intermediary between Flanders and Italy, having assimilated something of the art of both countries and yet remaining withal stanchly German in race, method and inspiration.

"But he is more than this, he is an intermediary between the Middle Ages and our modern times. Typical of the former in that he was primarily a craftsman laboring with all the sincerity and unconscious modesty of the good workman, he yet felt something of the tormented spiritual unrest of the latter; and indeed, so strikingly reflects what we call the 'modern spirit' that his work has to-day more influence upon our thought and art than it had upon that of his contemporaries."

Among his principal paintings are various portraits, a 'Christ on the Cross,' small in size but large in idea and execution, an 'Adoration of the Magi,' an 'Adoration of the Trinity,' the 'Madonna of the Finch' and the 'Four Apostles,' which he presented to the town council of Nuremberg. Besides his paintings, he produced a number of engravings which are perfect in detail and technique. Of these some of the best known are 'The Knight,' 'Death and the Devil,' 'St. Jerome in His Cell,' 'St. Jerome in Penitence' and 'Melancholia.'

Lucas Cranach (1472-1553), the founder of the Saxon

School, failed to reveal his true artistic merit in his portraits, among which are ones of Luther and Melancthon, but in his other works he introduced a spirit of German

Fig. 49 —Erasmus, by Deutsch, After Holbein.

rusticity which often amuses as much from artlessness as through intention. Muther says of him, "Far from the philosophic brooding of Durer, transposing the profound

thoughts of Faust into the antique world, Cranach treats antique legends like romantic stories of the age of chivalry, with a charming childishness."

Germany found its second master in Hans Holbein the younger (1497-1543), who in his 'Meyer Madonna' and numerous portraits in oil and colored chalks, performed the difficult task of reconciling beauty with character and united the spiritism of the South with the realism of the North. "In Holbein," Sir Frederick Leighton remarked, "we have a complete contrast to Durer; a man not prone to theorize, not steeped in speculation, a dreamer of no dreams; without passion but full of joyous fancies, he looked out with serene eyes upon the world around him; accepting nature without preoccupation or afterthought, but with a keen sense of all her subtle beauties, loving her simply and for herself. As a draftsman he displayed a flow, a fulness of form and an almost classic restraint which are wanting in the works of Durer, and, indeed, are not found elsewhere in German art. As a colorist, he had a keen sense of the values of tone relations, a sense in which Durer again was lacking; not so Teutonic in every way as the Nuremberg master, he formed a link between the Italian and German races. A less powerful personality than Durer, he was a far superior painter."

German Sculpture adhered to Gothic traditions and excelled particularly in wood carving. Among the masters in this particular branch were Jörg Syrlin (c. 1474) and his son, of Ulm, and Veit Stoss (d. 1533), of Nuremberg, while Adam Kraft (c. 1455-1507) also worked in stone and produced the Schreyer monument and the tabernacle for the Host in the Ulm Cathedral, in all of which realistic figures in the costumes of the times were introduced. The Vischer family of Nuremberg for three generations were the ablest sculptors in bronze. Peter Vischer (d. 1529) has hardly ever been equaled as a pure technician.

CHAPTER VII

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES—THE TRIUMPH OF REALISM

To THE reaction against the Renaissance and the spread of Protestantism throughout Europe, may be ascribed the change in art that began during the end of the sixteenth century, when religion for the last time was a ruling force in the direction in which the Fine Arts turned. The Renaissance spirit in Rome had become identified with the Hellenic spirit in Athens, and what had begun as an expression of faith had at last degenerated, if it may so be called, into a delineation of sensuous beauty. This, together with the various breaks from the Roman Church, forced it to realize that Christianity and not art was its true hold on the people, with the result that it returned to the Catholic Ideal, which the Renaissance had neglected, and the so-called Counter Reformation began. But altho at the beginning of this change the Church decided to banish art, it soon recognised its mistake, and realizing that by pictorial means, if rightly expressed, best of all could an appeal be made to the populace, it again employed art as its most powerful ally in confronting the advancing ranks of "cold and sober Protestantism."

A new spirit was introduced, gorgeous even if crude, which blinded with glittering splendor and dazed with startling innovations. The subjects of pictures which during the later Renaissance had been selected not for their religious ideas, but rather for the artistic opportuni-

ties they afforded, during this period were chosen to illustrate the sublime sufferings and ecstasies of the martyrs of the faith. Moreover, old age, which had up to then been neglected as offering no opportunities for the portrayal of physical beauty, became popular in pictures, and as expression of countenance was the best means for indicating religious fervors, three-quarter or bust figures supplanted the flowing lines of the full-length figures of the Renaissance. This, together with the overturning of the notion that everything individual was vulgar, resulted in the rise of portraiture and the introduction of every possible aid to the appearance of "naturalistic truth."

In Italy the new spirit began with the Bolognese brothers Carraci, who, altho they belong to the latter part of the sixteenth century, nevertheless from their subjects must be grouped with the seventeenth century, even if their methods are rather those of the Renaissance. Their school was eclectic, borrowing its style of drawing from Raphael and Michael Angelo and its schemes of color from Titian and Corregio. It produced Guido Reni (1575-1642), who in his 'Aurora' depended on Raphael for his inspiration, but in his 'Visit of Antony to Paul,' together with a series of martyrdoms and various half-length figures, exhibits more of the naturalism and sentimentality of the age; Domenicho (1581-1641), who, on the other hand, in his 'Death of St. Jerome' is an exponent of the cruder and more realistic tendencies, and Guercino (1591-1666), who displayed the qualities of both, united with greater boldness, in depicting movement and light effects.

It was not from the Carraci, however, that their school inherited the naturalistic tendencies. They were the result of the influence of a contemporary, Caravaggio (1569-1609), "who," writes Paul Mantz in his 'Chefs-d'œuvre de la Peinture Italienne,' "asserted that a painter should imitate none of the great masters. Nature was the true and only teacher; and if the artist pursuing nature should en-

counter ugliness, triviality and baseness, he should not shut his eyes, but should record them unflinchingly." Caravaggio, not only in realism, but in his light effects, which were harsh and violent, wielded an enormous and lasting influence. Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), at Naples, in landscape and battle pictures is akin to Caravaggio; at Rome, Sassoferato (1605-1685) carried on the traditions of Raphael, while at Florence Alexander and Christopher Allori and Carlo Dolci (1616-1686) made the effect of the Caracci methods evident.

Spain, where the Renaissance had never gained a firm foothold, during this period first showed real evidence of an artistic epoch of great splendor. Ribera (1588-1652) brought back with him from Italy the teachings of Caravaggio and took especial delight in depicting ugliness with extreme realism. Coupled, however, with the harshness in form and light of Caravaggio, is also a certain joyousness derived from Corregio, but the influence of the former painter predominates in all of Ribera's works, and it is through him that Caravaggio's influence has been passed on. Francisco Zurbaran (1598-1662) likewise fell under Caravaggio's power and produced many religious pictures, principally monks in reveries and ecstasies.

Diego Velasquez (1599-1660) is the greatest of the Spanish painters, and while in intellectual force he did not equal the giants of the Renaissance, his influence today is more vital and genuine than all of the Italian painters. The reason for this is not hard to discover—they went to classic models for the foundations on which to build; he, on the contrary, a pupil of Herrera, who, in turn, had heard the magic call of Caravaggio, went straight to nature for his inspiration. But in addition to merely feeling the presence of the object to be painted, he was the first to realize the all-enveloping and seemingly invisible atmosphere and utilized this as a magic cloak to envelop but not obscure the objects in his pictures. "Art," re-

marked Whistler, "dipped the Spaniard's brush in light and air."

The next great name is Bartolmé Estevan Murillo (1617-1682). In his early works he exhibited the same realistic tendencies as his predecessors and took especial delight in depicting the street boys of Seville. Later he produced an immense number of religious pictures, among which may be mentioned the 'Vision of St. Antony,' 'St. Elizabeth of Hungary Healing the Sick,' the 'Immaculate Conception' and the 'Birth of the Virgin.' In all of these, as Paul Lefort has pointed out, he manifests the characteristics and tendencies of the Spanish school—a sublimity in conception, linked to the most audacious naturalism, qualities and defects which seem the essence and originality of Spanish genius.

From Spain the road leads to Flanders, which in the latter part of the sixteenth century passed under Spanish rule. The Dutch provinces obtained independence and embraced Protestantism, while Flanders, or Belgium, remained Spanish and Catholic. In Flanders the Counter Reformation did not produce the somber pictures it did in Spain. The Flemings, a sensuous, pleasure-loving people, called for an exuberant and vital art, and the Counter Reformation became a religion of joy, providing for the fleshly as well as the spiritual wants, and Catholicism having made itself secure in these provinces, lent its hand to the development of a sensuous art imbued with the Hellenic spirit of the Renaissance, tempered with the powerful force of naturalism.

This was accomplished principally by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), who in leading a reaction against the spiritual tendencies of the Spaniards, turned art back into the older paths and displays a sensualism more healthy in every way than the neurotic piety of many of the Spanish painters. Eugene Fromentin in his 'Maîtres d'Autrefois' says: "He has taken a possession of the earth that no other man has. His pictures comprise some fifteen hundred produc-

tions, the most immense output that ever issued from one brain, and if the importance, the dimensions and the complicated character of his works be considered independently of their number, the spectacle is astounding and gives the most lofty, even the most religious idea of human faculties."

His fellow student, Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), displays the same characteristics, while David Teniers (1610-1690) introduced them into small genre pictures with successful results. To mention but a few of the more famous painters is difficult, as the list is a long one. Cornelius de Vos (1585-1651) painted portraits representative of the courtly life under the Spanish influence; Jacques d'Artois (1618-1686) and Lucas van Uden (1595-1672) painted landscapes; while Frans Snyders (1579-1657) and Jan Fyt (1611-1661) excelled in still life.

Of Rubens' pupils, Anthonis van Dyck (1599-1641) justly attained the greatest distinction. At first an imitator of Rubens, he eventually developed an individual art, which, even if lacking in virility, compensated with qualities of refinement and delicacy which were absent in the works of his master. On his canvases Charles I., his family and his court live again, slightly more picturesque perhaps than in actual life, but otherwise truthfully rendered with delicate drawing and charming color.

Dutch painting may properly be considered to have begun after Holland had achieved her independence. The first name which stands for what is best in Dutch painting is Franz Hals (1584-1666). "He was primarily a master workman," writes John C. van Dyke in his 'Old Dutch and Flemish Masters.' "It is true he had not the reflective, speculative and romantic temperament. He was a seer and a recorder rather than a thinker; a man apparently devoted to the beautiful in the material, rather than in the intellectual, yet far more removed from the mere mechanical realist of cold facts." Hals knew where to begin, how far to carry his work and where to leave off.

In addition to his numerous single portraits, he likewise excelled in portrait groups, a style of picture particularly popular in Holland, where numerous guilds and societies clubbed together and had one large picture painted containing portraits of all its members. Such a group is the 'Reunion of the Officers of St. Andrew,' which Fromentin considers his masterpiece and in which he maintains that Hals shows as much taste as Van Dyck, as much skilful execution as Velasquez, and at the same time deals with the manifold difficulties of a palette infinitely richer.

Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) is the greatest master of the school. "If seeking to discover," writes Fromentin, "the means by which he produced the marvelous effects in his paintings, do we find it by saying that Rembrandt was a consummate master of chiaroscuro? Not if we mean by chiaroscuro the play and opposition of light and shadow. The career of Rembrandt the dreamer turns round this objective point—to paint only by the help of light, to draw only with light. He has proved that light exists in itself, independent of the exterior form and coloring, and that it can by the force and variety of its usage, the power of its effects, the number, the depth and the subtlety of the ideas which it may be made to express become the principle of a new art."

This peculiar handling of light is evident in all of Rembrandt's works. In his portraits he manages to invest, by its means, the most prosaic heads with a poetical charm. In his 'Anatomy Lesson' he has made the living victorious over the reality of the dead; in the 'Supper at Emmaus' he invests his Christ with an indefinable glory, while his 'Sortie of the Civic Guard' is bathed in a golden atmosphere which makes strange beings out of commonplace burghers.

Bartholomaeus van der Helst (1613-1670) in depicting character in his 'Archer's Guild of Amsterdam' approaches Rembrandt, but fails in the more imaginative side of art. But Rembrandt's followers produced a series of genre

REMBRANDT. (By himself.)

pictures which are among the highest achievements in this particular branch. Pieter de Hoogh (1630-1677) was a painter of quiet interiors, through the windows and doors of which courtyards bathed in sunlight are visible. Vermeer of Delft (1632-1675) delighted in one or two figures beside a wall flooded with sunlight which comes through an open window. His treatment of light is distinctly individual; entering by one side it permeates the entire picture, so that the canvas seems a source of light in itself.

Gerard Dou (1613-1675) was a pupil of Rembrandt, but his methods were entirely dissimilar and his technique at its best is a marvel of finish and smoothness. Gerard Ter Borch (1617-1681) sought his subjects among the better classes and as a painter of satin stands unrivaled, while Jan Steen (1626-1699) depicted the peasants that figure in the pictures of Brouwer and Van Ostade.

Equally popular with genre pictures were animal subjects, and at the head of the list of animal painters stand Paul Potter (1625-1654) and Albert Cuyp (1605-1691), while in landscape the greatest of the Dutch painters is Jacob Ruysdael (1625-1682), who painted dashing mountain torrents and wild waterfalls roaring through dark pines.

Dou, with his minute workmanship, was the beginning of the downfall of Dutch painting. The virility of Hals and Rembrandt gave way to an artificial refinement in the works of Mieris, De Lairesse and Van der Werff, and "the French invasion," says Muther, "put an end to the worldwide importance of the Dutch State—the bourgeoisie and their art again bowed to monarchism."

Until the end of the seventeenth century France did not possess an indigenous school of painters. Up to that time Rome, not Paris, was the center of French art. Simon Vouet (1590-1649), the court painter of Louis XIII, lived a number of years in Italy and became a disciple of Guido Reni, while his followers, Le Brun (1619-1690), Le Suer (1617-1655) and Mignard (1610-1695), were all more tal-

ented than he, but found in him their inspiration. Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665) and Claude Lorraine (1600-1682) were the greatest masters in landscape painting, and like the figure painters, found Italy more congenial to their tastes. Their works are historical and mythological, and both seem to be rather imaginative than realistic painters of landscape. Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1738) and Nicholas Largilliere (1656-1746) painted the court of Louis XIV., and their portraits display the affectation and artificiality of the times.

With the accession of Louis XV. France determined to be gay and natural once more. "The new era of French art," writes Sidney Colvin, "that transition from the majesty of Louis XIV. and the seventeenth century to the gaiety of Louis XV. and the eighteenth, springs full grown from the genius of Watteau (1684-1721). Ceremony to the winds! Marquis and marquise, released from the dreary ordinances of the old court, come to loll and saunter in tender couples amid these enchanted shades, a veritable paradise realized for them, a festival of gay dresses and shepherd pastime—a festival of pleasure without passion and indulgence without a to-morrow." Such is Antoine Watteau's art, such is the art of his two imitators, true artists, nevertheless, themselves—Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743) and Jean Pater (1696-1736)—while Simon Chardin (1698-1776) in his delightful groups of women and children is closely akin to the Little Dutch Masters.

The art of François Boucher (1703-1770) may be considered the apotheosis of the Rococo spirit. "The carnival," writes Muther, "which had begun with a measured gavotte has now become a wild can-can. He paints no longer Watteau's minuet, but those so-called Babylonian dances performed before Louis XV. Crebillon, Bernard and Grécourt in literature, Pompadour and Du Barry on the throne find in him their artistic parallel." While he painted wood scenes and religious subjects, his particular field is nude mythological figures.

The cleverest of this entire group of painters is Jean Fragonard (1732-1806). Side by side with decorations such as his 'Four World Religions' are his landscapes and portraits, in all of which there abounds the sparkling frou-frou of the Rococo. But particularly is this so in his genre pictures, as 'The Swing,' in which a risque motive is combined with a seeming naïveté.

Naturally there came the inevitable reaction against this type of art, and this time it took the channel prepared for it by the writings of Diderot and Rousseau. "Art," said they, "must not amuse but improve." To Jean Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805) fell the lot of giving artistic expression to these sentiments. His first picture 'The Father Reading the Bible,' made him famous. Then followed a number of similar subjects. But the reformation was not deep and behind the seeming virtue there is always a hidden raciness, and altho unlike his predecessors he does not paint the joys of sensuality, there seems always to be some mockery in his sorrows over lost innocence.

After the moral immorality of Greuze followed the resurrection of the antique, and in this particular turn Madame Vigée Lebrun (1755-1842) stands as the prophetess in portraiture and painted her sitters as goddesses, muses and sibyls, while Jacques Louis David (1748-1825) introduced it into historical painting, exerting tremendous effect upon the art of the early nineteenth century.

During the middle of the eighteenth century the revival of classicism produced a school of false masters whose work cannot explain the tremendous reputations they enjoyed during their lives. In Italy there was Canova (1757-1822), in Denmark Bertel Thorwaldsen (1770-1844), in Germany Daneker.

For many years England's art was a foreign one. Holbein, Rubens and Van Dyck all painted there. Under Charles II. another foreigner, Sir Peter Lely, painted portraits characteristic of the court and of the reaction against Puritanism, while Sir James Thornhill (1676-1734)

and Godfrey Kneller continued the foreign style. It was in William Hogarth (1697-1764) that the first characteristic English painter is found. His pictures are moral sermons, but aside from their literary interest possess much artistic worth. The 'Harlot's Progress,' the 'Rake's Progress,' the 'Marriage à la Mode' and 'Industry and Idleness' are all series of pictures in which the reward of virtue or punishment of vice is strongly held up for the benefit of the English public.

The influence of Van Dyck, Titian and Rubens, however, made itself felt in the group of portrait painters headed by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) and including Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788), George Romney (1734-1802), Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830), Henry Raeburn (1756-1823) and Hoppner (1759-1810). "It is as a portrait painter," write Leslie and Taylor in their life of him, "that Sir Joshua Reynolds won his fame and will keep it. Apart from their charms of grace, beauty and character, and looking at their purely technical qualities, his pictures are to be praised with the greatest reservation."

In addition to portraits, Gainsborough also painted landscapes and, together with John Crome (1768-1821) and Richard Wilson (1714-1782), ranks among the earliest English landscapists. Wilson was an imitator of Claude Lorraine, but in the works of the other two may be seen the beginnings of natural landscape which found its highest expression in England in the works of John Constable (1776-1837) and Richard Bonington (1801-1828). During the Reformation the principal works of English sculpture are the effigies on tombs, in which the figures for the most part are poor and coarse, but the ornamentation effective.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE beginning of the nineteenth century saw classical traditions popular throughout Europe. The most notable exceptions to these methods are to be found in the works of Francisco Goya (1746-1828). "He appeared," writes Reinach, "as a second Velasquez at a time when scarcely any one in Europe knew how to paint. The French colorists of the nineteenth century felt his influence as they did that of the English successors of Titian and Rubens. If he carried his taste for realism to the verge of vulgarity, it was tempered, both in his pictures and engravings, by a strong dramatic instinct and the mordant vigor of the satirist. Spain suffered as a result very little from the disease of academism which ravaged Italy, France and Germany."

The first note of the coming victory of Romanticism was sounded by Pierre Prudhon (1758-1823), the lineal descendant of Corregio, a solitary painter, who as the tiresome academicians began to pall, exercised a correspondingly increasing influence over the younger generation and proclaimed "Man is not a statue, not made of marble but of flesh and bone." Antoine Gros (1771-1835), a pupil of David, likewise aided unwittingly in the struggle, for his battle pictures introduced some of Rubens' methods and he had the courage to paint pest-houses and hospitals at a time when most art busied itself with events of Greece and Rome long since passed away.

Théodore Gericault (1791-1824) was the leader of the so-called "daubers of 1830," who, weary of copying profiles of Apollo and Antinous, rescued art from the misguided channels into which it had been led. The 'Raft of the Medusa,' 'The Start' and his equestrian portraits, while they did not entirely discard classical ideas, paved the way for the works of Eugene Delacroix (1799-1863), who reinstated color into painting so that "it should no longer be a tasteful tinting of the figures but should be truly what gives its temper to a picture." His 'Dante's Bark' provoked David to remark: "D'ou vient il? Je ne connais pas cette touche-la" (Whence has he come? That touch is quite unknown to me). As a result of this work, painted symphonies took the place of painted statues. In his 'Tasso in the Madhouse,' the 'Entry of the Crusaders Into Constantinople' and 'Jesus on the Lake of Gennesaret' he carried on the work still further and infused the fervor of Rubens and Veronese into modern art.

In spite, however, of the rise of the new school, some artists of merit still adhered to the older theories, prominent among whom are Jean Auguste Ingress (1780-1867), a pupil of David, who, altho his paintings are cold, rises to great heights in a series of drawings which in draftsmanship and delineation of character approach Holbein. Paul Delaroche (1797-1856) likewise carried on the traditions, tempering them slightly with the new ideas, while Ary Scheffer (1795-1858) combined both styles almost equally. While to a certain extent the classical and academic precepts have been maintained by Charles Gleyre (1807-1876) Hippolyte Flandrin (1811-1860), Leon Cogniet (1794-1880), Alexander Cabanel (1823-1889) and William Bouguereau (1825-1907) and their numerous followers, the works of all of them, together with those of Paul Baudry (1828-1886) and Elie Delaunay (1828-1891), may be characterized, according to Muther, by an avoidance of all extremes, generalized forms, careful composition, crude lukewarmness or the affectation of daring;

CHANT D'AMOUR. (Burne-Jones.)

not one of them has raised himself from the paltry level of the artificial Delaroche to the artistic height of Delacroix.

Jean Paul Laurens (1838) and Henri Regnault (1843-1871) are exceptions. The former is truly horrible in his pictures of Inquisitional tortures and exhumed corpses, while the latter in his portrait of General Prim and his 'Salome,' brilliant efforts in color, completed "the last defiant works of the formulae of Romanticism."

The influence of J. A. Gros was carried on in battle pictures by Horace Vernet (1789-1863), a most prolific artist; N. T. Charlet (1792-1845) and A. M. Raffet (1804-1860), lithographers, while allied to them are Ernest Meissonier's (1813-1891) battle pictures, tho in other subjects he is rather influenced by the little Dutch masters. Meissonier's pupils, De Neuville (1836-1885) and Edouard Detaille (1848), also painted war scenes which, like most of the works of all these men, chronicle the campaigns of the Revolution and both Empires with sympathy for the sufferings and enthusiasm of the common soldier.

Delacroix had turned the eyes of France toward the East and Oriental subjects became popular in the works of Alexandre Decamps (1803-1860), a very rich colorist, and Eugène Fromentin (1820-1886), while Leon Gerome (1824-1904) painted these, in addition to classical themes, in a hard, precise style in which good drawing was combined with metallic color.

The return to nature in French landscape painting was chiefly effected through the English school, particularly Constable and Bonnington, and a group of painters establishing themselves at Barbizon, near the forest of Fontainebleau, founded a school which, following the English masters, made the discovery of light and air which since their time has been the great problem of painting. The artists who formed this school were Theodore Rousseau (1812-1867), Jean Baptiste Corot (1797-1875), Narcisse Diaz de la Pena (1807-1876), Jules Dupre (1811-1889),

Charles François Daubigny (1817-1878), Constant Troyon (1810-1865), Charles Jacque (1813-1890) and Jean François Millet (1814-1875). While realism was the keynote of all their works, it was a realism tempered with the strong individuality of each.

"By the harmony of light and air," wrote Rousseau on one occasion, "with that of which they are the life and illumination I will make you hear the trees moaning beneath the north wind and the birds calling to their young." He did this, so did Corot, but with what different methods! The majesty and august solemnity of his pictures contrast strongly with the softness and quietness of Corot's. The grandeur of autumn and the blithesomeness of spring—both true, but how totally unlike! Thus too in Daubigny's and Diaz's work is there the same dominant personal note. Troyon and Jacque showed the same feeling in cattle pictures, while Millet became the painter of labor. He himself wrote, "To tell the truth, peasant subjects suit my nature best, for I must confess, at the risk of your taking me to be a Socialist, that the human side is what touches me most in art, and that if I could do only what I like, or at least attempt to do it, I would paint nothing that was not the result of an impression directly received from nature, whether in landscape or in figures."

The principal success of this school are Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899), an animal painter; Jules Breton (1827-1906), a refined but weaker Millet, while among the landscape painters who follow in their steps are Henri Harpignies (1819), Jean Cazin (1841-1901) and Auguste Pointelin (1839).

The Barbizon school was a thing apart in French painting. The direct revolution against Classicism and Romanticism was led by Gustav Courbet (1819-1877), who, like Millet, painted labor, but without the attendant sentiment. Edouard Manet (1833-1884), like Courbet, betrays the Spanish influence, but he played an important

part in banishing the studio effects then in vogue from his canvas and illuminating his figures by the light of day.

The realistic and 'plein d'air' tendencies of these painters gave rise to several schools. Leon Bonnat (1833) and his followers assimilated the lesson of realism and combined it with a study of the old masters. Bastien Lepage (1848-1884) and Leon L'Hermitte (1884), in endeavoring to be realistic and at the same time paint in the open, were compelled on account of the changing light of the sun to reserve their effects for gray days. On the other hand, Edgard Degas (1834), a pupil of Ingres, in representing contemporary life, theatrical principally, followed the way laid out by Manet, while Claude Monet (1848), Camille Pissaro (1863) and Alfred Sisley (d. 1879) went to Nature directly, and painting out of doors almost exclusively, achieved not only the representation of light and air, but even of sunlight by a dexterous but artistic method of color juxtaposition, while Puvis du Chavannes (1826-1898) combined impressionistic color with poetic sentiment in large decorative works, which for originality and massiveness in conception stand preëminent.

England, which with the works of Reynolds and his contemporaries had opened the way for modern art, contented itself for a long time, as far as figure pictures were concerned, in the productions of mediocrities.

While the great masters of landscape, Constable, Bonnington and Crome, were influencing the artistic world, while Joseph William Mallard Turner (1775-1851), in some ways the most original of landscape painters, whose remarkable color sense overpowered all his other gifts, was painting his wonderful Venetian scenes, at this time Hy. Fuseli (1741-1825), B. R. Haydn (1786-1846), James Northcote (1746-1831) and James Barry (1741-1806), together with the Americans, Benjamin West and John Singleton Copely, produced historical works of doubtful merit. George Morland (1763-1804) is one of the few exceptions to the lack of artistic feelings of the times, and

Fig. 51 —Venice, by Turner.

in his pictures of horses and pigs strikes a high note, while his women, tho coarse, approach and sometimes excel those of Brouwer and Van Ostade. David Wilkie (1785-1841), a Scotchman, also resembles the Dutch and is an artist among many professors of art.

As for the rest, Chas. Eastlake (1793-1865), Wm. Etty (1787-1849), Edwin Landseer (1802-1873), Wm. Mulready (1786-1863), Daniel Maclise (1811-1870), Thos. Webster (1800-1886), James Ward (1769-1859), Chas. S. Leslie (1794-1859), as Robert de la Sizeranne says in his 'English Contemporary Art,' "They paint more or less cleverly, like every one else. Their dogs, their horses, their village politicians, their scenes of interiors and kitchens are better done by the Dutch, and you pass them by with but momentary interest. Petty men, petty subjects, petty painting. As the portentous date 1850 draws near, the saying of Constable in 1821 recurs to mind: 'In thirty years English art will have ceased to exist.'"

New life, however, was instilled into the dying art, and it was rescued, to turn its force in other directions. Ford Madox Brown began the movement by endeavoring "to make pictures realistic," as he said, "because no Frenchman did so." His pictures and the writings of John Ruskin fired the enthusiasm of Holman Hunt (1827), Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882), and John Everett Millais (1829-1896), and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was formed, which in its pursuit of nature followed rather in the footsteps of the painters who had worked before Raphael than those who followed him. Many of their methods were entirely new and revolutionary, and the art world stood aghast. Rossetti found a disciple in Edward Burne Jones (1833-1898); and George Frederick Watts (1817-1904), although never allied with them, practiced similar methods. Instead of the dark grounds used by the English painters up to their time they employed white canvas, and in placing crude colors side by side they anticipated certain phases of the impressionists.

"Looked at as a whole," writes Sizeranne, "from Madox Brown to Millais, from Watts to Rossetti, from the Westminster cartoons to the 'Last of England' (by Brown), from 'Isabella' to the 'Huguenot' (by Millais), as from the 'Annuciation' to 'Dante's Dream' (by Rossetti), the movement of 1850 was this: New men longing for a new art, substituting strange, novel, individual gesture for commonplace generalization, and fresh, dry, pure color, brilliant by its juxtapositions, for sunken overlaid color; in one word they exchanged the line of expression for the line of decoration and clear tones for hot ones. In its simplicity this was Pre-Raphaelism."

Outside of this one movement England has produced no national type of art. Millais soon gave up Pre-Raphaelite methods and became a portrait painter. Fredk. Leighton (1830-1896), E. J. Poynter (1836), Albert Moore (1841-1892), Hubert Herkomer (1849), and a host of others, reflect more or less continental methods; while the contemporary Glasgow school, the most promising in England today, numbering among its members John Pettie, R. W. Macbeth, David Murray, Andrew MacWhirter, John Lavery, Geo. Henry and Alexandre Roche, shows a French influence combined with that of the American-born Whistler.

In Germany the classical reaction, headed by Mengs, was followed by the so-called Nazarene school, which adopted the methods of the Middle Ages, and as in architecture the Hellenic style was superseded by the Gothic, so painting passed to the worship and imitation of the early Italian pictures. Frederick Overbeck (1789-1869) was the leader, and in order to get the true religious spirit into their works he and his followers went so far as to lead monastic lives. Together with Joseph Fürich (1800-1876), Edward Steinle (1810-1886), Peter Cornelius (1783-1867), and William Kaulbach (1805-1874), he produced a series of cold, unattractive pictures and frescoes, uninteresting from every artistic standpoint, and in en-

deavoring to express religious ideas became wearisome and didactic, and devoid of anything that goes to make a picture a work of art.

While the Nazarenes carried on their work in Munich, much of it, indeed, under the patronage of the King; at Dusseldorf, another school flourished which produced a romantic art nurtured by the writings of Tieck. Theodore Hildebrandt (1804-1874) painted Shakespearean subjects, while Carl Sohn (1805-1865) and Eduard Bendeman (1811-1889) selected themes from the Bible which they could treat from a sentimental side.

It remained, however, for Alfred Rethel (1816-1859) and Morris Schwind (1804-1871) to attain any real distinction in Romantic Painting. The former, in his frescoes in the Kaisersaal at Aachen, showed a fine sense of fancy, while the latter displayed "in his fairy tale pictures a charming fragrance of the long vanished days of earth's first springtide."

From 1842 dates the pilgrimage of German artists to Paris, Antwerp and Brussels. The result is that they became more or less reflections of other painters. Anselm Feuerbach (1828-1880) developed into a Classicist, after the manner of Ingres. To Carl Piloty (1826-1886) belongs the honor of having introduced color into German painting, while Hans Markart (1840-1884), in carrying out his work in huge historical pictures, is to be honored by German Art, according to Muther, as "the most perfect representative of the period in which color blindness was succeeded by exuberance of color and the cartoon style by the delight in painting." Gabriel Max (1840) calculated the effect of his pictures on the nerves with extreme subtlety, and in such of his works as the 'Christian Martyr' and the 'Lion's Bride' appeals to compassion rather than imagination.

Adolf Menzel (1815-1905) was the first to break away from conventions of Classicism and Romanticism and bring art before nature. While most other Germans were

indulging in Romantic fantasies, or else copying foreign masters, he developed an art of his own, distinctly German, and delighting for the most part in depicting historical personages of the German Court.

The Realistic movement begun by Menzel is being carried on by Wilhelm Leibl (1846-1900) and Max Leiberman (1847), who also paint the German peasant; while Franz Lenbach (1836-1904), a keen student of the old masters, brought their methods to modern portraiture, and in a large number of pictures of prominent people produced works which rank high for character delineation in contemporary painting.

Among all these realistic painters Arnold Boecklin (1827-1901) sprang, a full-fledged idealist, who made his landscapes respond to states of the soul, and effected a change in German art which to-day is distinctly individual, and in the works of Max Klinger (1856), Franz Stuck (1863), Hans Thoma (1839), and Fritz von der Uhle (1848), shows a strange mingling of idealistic fancy mingled with seeming incongruous realistic tendencies.

The various other countries of Europe have all contributed more or less to the art of the nineteenth century. Belgium aided in the development of historical painting with the works of Gustav Wappers (1803-1874), Louis Gallait (1810-1887), and Hendrick Leys (1815)-1869), the last of whom went back to the early Dutch and German painters for his inspiration and produced works truly representative of the Flemish race.

Holland has its successor to Rembrandt in Josef Israels (1824), whose figure pictures, illuminated with a golden glow, are reminiscent of the earlier Dutch masters' work, while Bloomers and Neuhuys are influenced by him. Sweden finds its master in Anders Zorn (b. 1860), a tremendously virile realist, while Fritz Thaulow's (1847-1906) opalescent pools and streams are characteristic of Norway. Spain, for a time influenced by France, produced

Jose Villegas (1848) and Mariano Fortuny (1838-1874), now turns again to her own and gives to the world such divergent talents as Joaquim Sarolla's and Ignacio Zuloago's. Russia, too, has contributed to the list, and Elias Repin and Paul Verestchagin stand as typical representatives; and Italy has furthered the cause of impressionism with Giovanni Segantini's luminous canvases.

America, the youngest of nations, as yet has developed no characteristic national art of her own, but in spite of this several of her artists have played important parts in Europe. The first American born portrait painter was Robert Feke, but it was John Singleton Copely (1737-1815), however, who first showed real merit. He, together with Benjamin West (1738-1803), who afterward became President of the Royal Academy, painted many historical pictures of large size, both in this country and England. Gilbert Stuart (1756-1828), through whose efforts the likenesses of Washington and many other Revolutionary notables have come down, showed more ability than any of the early portrait painters. Jonathan Trumbull also preserved the portraits of the patriots, but he did this in large groups showing them performing their most celebrated deeds. John Vanderlyn, on the other hand, painted classical subjects with rich color, while Washington Alston treated biblical themes in a solemn, impressive and imaginative manner. Henry Inman, Charles Elliot, Daniel Huntington, George Healy and Eastman Johnson are but a few of the names best known in portraiture, while among genre painters William Mount must be mentioned as having produced particularly characteristic American subjects.

Thomas Cole was the first landscape painter of real ability, but his works betray a foreign influence; while on the other hand, Asher Durand is typical of the western world. The landscape school developed quickly, J. F. Kensett, J. F. Cropsey, the Harts, Albert Bierstadt and F. E. Church being among its members, some of whom

went to make up the so-called Hudson River school. George Inness belonged to this coterie at the beginning of his career, but later developed along original lines and became a master in this field. He, together with A. H. Wyant and Homer Martin, represent what is best in American landscape, while for depicting the sea Winslow Homer holds undoubted sway. Among contemporary landscape painters, Emil Carlsen, J. F. Murphy, Leonard, Ochtman, Bruce Crane and Henry Ranger must be mentioned. Two painters vitally interested in the French methods were William Morris Hunt and George Fuller. The former introduced many of these theories into American art, while the latter developed a particular style but remotely connected with that of Millet.

The list of figure painters is a long one: Geo. de Forest Brush, who painted Indians, now reserves his talents for depicting his own family in a distinctly Italian manner; Henry Mosler shows the influence of Germany, Frederick Bridgman of France, and Gari Melchers of Holland. William Chase is a facile technician, Frank Benson, Edmund Tarbell and T. W. Dewing able craftsmen, whose charming small figures are new notes in art; while Alexander's portraits display a keen decorative sense. In mural decorations, John la Farge stands as the dean, while among his compeers are Kenyon Cox and Edwin Blashfield.

As illustrators the Americans probably excel, and the drawings of Howard Pyle, Maxfield Parrish and Frederick Remington must be taken as serious works of art, while in this particular field Edwin Abbey first won his laurels.

The two greatest names in modern art belong to Americans—James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) and John Sargent (1856). The former spent his life equally in America, France and England. "He is," writes George Moore, "the one solitary example of cosmopolitanism in art, for there is nothing in his pictures to show that they come from the north, the south, the east or the west."

He assimilated the art of Velasquez and the art of Japan and combined the color of the Spaniard with the system of design of the orientals. The portrait of his mother is conceived along these lines, so are those of Carlyle and Miss Alexander, while his nocturnes, once ridiculed by England's critics and artists, represent, subtly, practically, but at the same time forcibly, the solemn mystery of night.

Sargent is the very antithesis of Whistler, and although an American by heritage is distinctly French in his art. As a technician he stands by himself. Daring in color, masterly in draftsmanship, he hesitates at nothing, and produces masterpieces of strength.

Japan, unnoticed by European civilization, has developed an art unmistakably its own. With practically no knowledge of perspective, it represents tremendous distances; with a limited palette it gives the impression of abundance of color; and with almost a system of draftsmanship depicts unsurpassed triumphs of realism in animal forms. Hokusai and Utamaro are but two of its many masters, all of whom have had an important effect on modern European art.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century French sculpture followed the classic paths laid out for it by Thorwaldsen and Canova. But in 1833 Antoine Barye's figures of animals revealed what could be done by the study of nature alone. In spite of this, however, Chapu Mercie and Paul Dubois turned to Italian sculpture for their inspiration, and produced some distinguished works. J. B. Carpeaux, however, went to nature direct, and, as Reinach says, his figures on the Paris Opera produced not only a scandal but a school. Among contemporary artists who are following in his line are E. Fremiet, Dalou and Falguiere. Auguste Rodin is also a realist, combining with this a deep poetic fancy, and in addition to small figures somewhat after Donatello's style he has also modeled large groups in which strange weird,

and even abnormal ideas, are carved in a most naturalistic manner. In Germany, Christian Rauch (1777-1837) and Ernst Rietshel produced large monumental works, Teutonic in spirit but influenced by Canova.

In England the first half of the nineteenth century also followed classic models. Francis Chantrey (1782-1841) and John Gibson (1790-1866) produced works in this style. Alfred Stevens (1818-1874) alone showed artistic capability, and in some ways his monument to Wellington is the best example of British sculpture. Numerous other sculptors of varying talents have provided the monuments with which England delights to remember its great men. The modeling in most of these works is good, but the vital spark necessary for the production of masterpieces is lacking. Hamo Thornycroft, F. W. Pomeroy and Onslow Ford are but a few of the names.

Sculpture in America has followed along European lines, the productions of Thomas Crawford, W. W. Story and Hiram Powers reflecting nothing American. J. Q. A. Ward, J. S. Hartley, Paul Bartlett, Fredk. Macmonnies and Daniel C. French may be mentioned among those who enjoy distinction to-day, while Augustus St. Gaudens, honored by the Luxembourg, is remembered in this country by his well-known statues of 'Lincoln' in Chicago and 'Farragut' and 'Sherman' in New York.

America as yet has produced no national school of art. Its paintings have, for the most part, been reflections of European methods, its sculpture has been influenced by older schools, and its architectures copied from earlier styles of other nations. The reason for this is to be found in the youth of the nation and the resulting lack of traditions, and the undevelopment as yet of any national ideals. With the longing for eternity ever in mind the Egyptians constructed imperishable monuments in stone. The worship of physical beauty inspired the Greeks to produce an unexcelled school of sculpture. Even the Romans have left their marvelous roads and aqueducts

as evidence of their temporal power; while the spiritual force of Christianity found its full artistic development during the Renaissance, when all the people of Europe felt the overpowering ecstasy of a firm faith in a future life.

The artistic field in America is as fertile as its soil and gives promise of a rich harvest. Architecture is its first art to develop, and in the tall buildings which are being erected may perhaps be seen the early efforts at a foundation of an architectural style. These mighty temples of industry are the first essentially characteristic edifices in the New World and may give a hint as to what lines of development its art will follow. The point is that they are unique, no such structures being known to antiquity.

As yet only the first notes have been struck in painting. The rock-bound New England coast with its rugged fisherman has afforded Winslow Homer characteristic subjects for pictures, and in America, where labor stands on a lofty footing, it is not impossible that Art may come to depict, in a realistic manner, the dignity of work. In France Millet achieved fame and founded a peasant art, but his work people always stooped under the weight of centuries of oppression; here, the Sower and the Tiller work their own fields, and standing masters of the earth offer unequaled opportunities for portraying the majesty of the freeman in his struggle with nature.

The same thing may be said concerning sculpture. Fifty years ago American sculptors went to Rome and were content to imitate mediocre works. But Rogers, in his groups, notwithstanding their many artistic deficiencies, showed a national feeling which to-day is just beginning to find expression.

In fact, in every direction may be seen the brightest promise that the commercial supremacy which is America's now will be accompanied, as were those of Egypt, Greece and Rome, with an artistic era worldwide in its influence and rich in achievements.

Any modern treatment of Art is incomplete without some presentation of the new and insurgent movements against the academic and classical school. At the same time, almost every explanation of the motives and purposes of the insurgent schools—and there are as many explanations as insurgents—is contradictory to the other. A consensus of the opinion of the artists themselves would present the purposes of the Impressionist, Post-impressionist, Cubist, Futurist and Cosmist schools in somewhat the following terms:

Historically the Impressionistic movement begins with Manet and Monet, who perceived that the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, while undoubtedly sincere in itself, did not express a public sincerity, and, in spite of itself, its members developed an artificiality so marked that they exceeded the dry-as-dust methods of the academic school. The Impressionists, as their name implies, desired to paint impressions, not to produce paint-photographs. They declared that the emotional effect of a landscape or a figure was the impression it gave, not the units of design that made up that impression. For example, a Lombardy poplar gives the sense of being an erect sentinel by its form, not by the details of the leaves of the tree. The classicist will endeavor to copy the tree so closely as to repeat that emotional impression; the Impressionist will endeavor to transfer to canvas the rigorous uprightness of the tree, subordinating (or enlarging) details without regard to photographic accuracy in order to grip the beholder with the pure impression. Daumier, Pisarro, Benoirs, Mary Cassatt, all belong to this school or have been largely influenced by it, and a very large proportion of connoisseurs in Europe, and a small proportion of art-lovers in America derive more pleasure and certainly more sensation from the impressionists than from the conservative schools.

With the advancing work of Paul Cezanne and still more with Gauguin and Van Gogh, Post-Impressionism began to have a separatist tendency, and a host of incom-

petent draughtsmen rushed in, who made the newer movement ridiculous. Cezanne and Gauguin, however, had a profound intention, which was that of making the canvases vibrate. Painting learned from science. Vivid spots of contrasting color, meaningless when seen at close range, at proper distances blended upon the retina of the eye. Thus the vision, compelled to perceive them as a blend by its own action instead of seeing the color laid on flatly, became conscious of a movement on the canvas that gave an extraordinary sense of atmosphere and light. A definite art movement, such as this, absolutely revolutionary in its tendency, needed wise guidance, and there was none to guide. The school was run to ruin by younger imitators, having attracted to its flame many of the ill-balanced moths of art.

With Matisse and the cubists a violent dislocation occurred. What impressionism had striven to do with color, the cubists sought to do with form. It was unfortunate for the Cubist school that the lines of the human body which Matisse sought to emphasize were such as to give offence. None the less, the cubists began with a certain indubitable truth. Curves are weak, angles strong. Curves are feminine, angles masculine. Curves are seductive and passionate, straight lines severe and chaste. All massed forms [it was here that the fallacy occurred of reasoning from particulars to generals] can be expressed in rectangular figures. Thus the human head may be an oblong, the eye a diamond-shaped lozenge. The argument was so simple and the painting of imitations so easy that another deluge followed, this time of so-called Cubists. This has been followed by a small Cosmist school, founded by a Belgian-American sculptor, Adolph Woolf.

Came then the Futurist school. Once again, the movement takes a firm ground in scientific truth, dealing with the emotional effects of massed and primary colors. It is difficult to reconcile to oneself the idea of a green

face or a pink tree, yet, extraordinary as it may seem to those who have not seen the great artists in this field, there are powers in the contrasts that do give rise to strong emotions. A "Madonna" by Taylor, exhibited in the spring of 1915, lingers freshly in the present writer's mind as few of the famous Madonnas in the Louvre have done. The Futurists also suffered from the torrent of "would-be's," but to a less extent, since the whole new movement had advanced sufficiently to enable a discrimination between good and bad work.

Shortly before the outbreak of the European War occurred an event which shook the artistic world to its foundation. This was the acceptance by the Louvre of the Count Comando bequest, a collection containing several pictures of the modern school. As the Louvre has always been held sacrosanct to the "Old Masters," many people held this to be almost a sacrilege and certainly a desecration. In the Luxemburg, yes, even an American impressionist, Leon Dabo, might be admitted, but in the Louvre! None the less, the officials of this most famous gallery in the world admitted Cezanne, Van Gogh, Degas, Manet, Sisley and Toulouse-Lautree. At one fell swoop this action demolished the position that the New Art was a freak or an outburst of lunacy—it was often so described—and formally canonized impressionists among the shrined names of Art.

American opinion lags far behind. In the United States there are several good exhibition painters, Redfield, Bellows, Schofield, Symons, Beal and the rest, and these are stereotyped admissions to American exhibitions. But men whose work is big, full of thought and daring, Taylor, Arthur B. Davies, Kuhn, Glacken and others, are denied even a pretence of an opportunity. Accordingly the art world of America is rent in twain. The vast majority of artists stand by the old school, nearly all judges of paintings for exhibitions are trained to an understanding and appreciation of the old school and the "invited paint-

ings" are exclusively sought from the academicians. A few, such as Robert Henri, Chanler, and occasionally Davies, are gingerly given a place among the conservatives, but it is upon sufferance. None the less, there are certain definite indications that the "New Art" is striking deep roots into American soil, that the undoubted common sense of the American artists is rapidly expunging the extravagances of the advanced school, and that the utilitarian spirit of the age will strike a balance between the modern message of emotion and the conservative interest in the painting of details. Post-impressionism has been the most vital movement in art for the last century, and the world would suffer an inestimable loss if it should be held back from a fair opportunity to bring the passionate eagerness of throbbing life into American art.

LITERATURE

LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

THE GROWTH OF LANGUAGE

STRANGE kinships are seen between the physical frame of man and of the brute. Still stranger ties appear linking the man of art to a world invisible, but it is in the realm of Literature that reason, man's finest gift, attains its sublimest flight. When primitive man haltingly stammered the first articulate words of the human race, little could he realize that those syllables which forever unshackled the trammels of brutehood should branch into a thousand lines and lead to the creation of those masterpieces which form the priceless heritage of the present time.

Yet these few stammered sounds most truly form a lofty verbal ancestry, for Literature is the child of Language, and Language, like some inspired architect, builds into its imperishable walls the word-gems garnered through the ages. The depth and copiousness of meaning that lies in words, just in the terms themselves, is vaster than is realized. Children of the mind, they reflect the manifold richness of man's faculties and affections. They incarnate man's unconscious, passionate creative energy. They bring the eternal provocations of personality. They are the sanctuary of the intuitions and they paint humanity in all its thoughts, longings, aspirations, struggles and its failures.

How all-permeative a force is this same Language, this wonder-working grouping together of mere words! It is the vehicle of every thought, the expression of every life; it forms alike the merry prattle of childhood and the ripe comfort of old age; it is the same in cradle-song and battle-cry, and half a dozen sentences may exalt the mind to its utmost height or plunge it to degradation. And yet the pean of joy and the dirge of grief, the shout of triumph and the despondent utterances of despair alike are but a few consonantal sounds and still fewer vowels strung together in a certain order.

That there must be order is evident and clear. With the same organs of speech the whole world over, there are tens of thousands of dialects of tongues mutually incomprehensible. Yet order exists. "We may define Language," suggests A. H. Sayce, in his "Introduction to the Science of Language," "as consisting of certain modulations of the voice, variously combined and arranged, which serve as symbols for the thoughts or feelings we wish to express. The sounds that we utter must have a meaning before they can become language, otherwise they will be mere cries, or gibberish, less worthy of the name of Language than even the howling of a dog upon the prairie or the wild song of a forest bird. Language is the outward expression and embodiment of thought—the garment, so to speak, with which the mind clothes itself when it would reveal itself to another or even, it may be, to itself."

Language is something more than this. The essential difference which separates man's means of communication in kind as well as in degree from that of the lower animals is that, while the latter is instinctive, the former is, in all its parts, arbitrary and conventional. No man can become possessed of any existing language without learning it; no animal (that we know of) has any expression which he learns that is not the direct gift of Nature to him.

This distinct possession, moreover, that which marks so wide a gulf, is universal in its scope. There is no race or

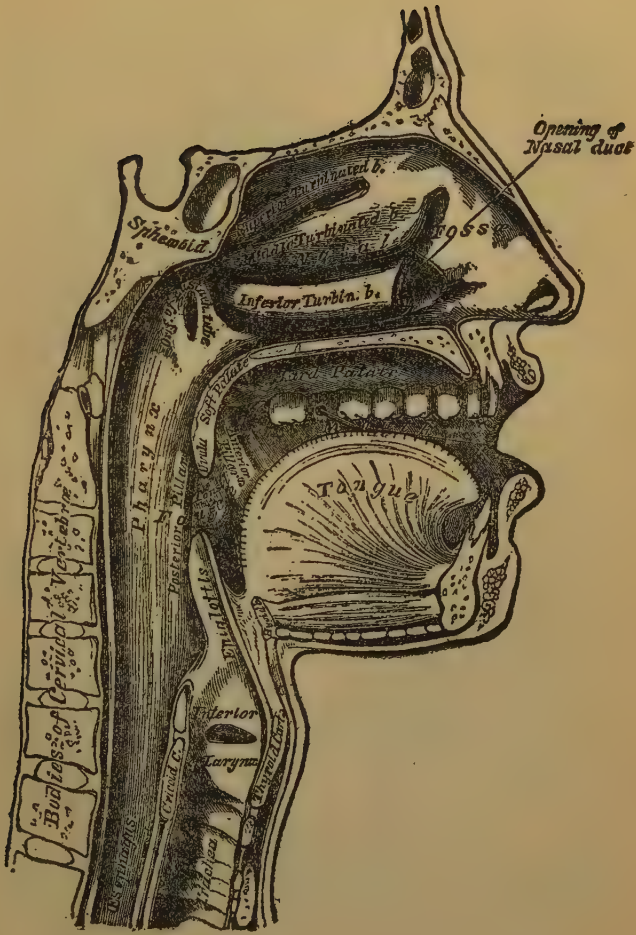


Fig. 1 —Section of Vocal Organs and Passages.

Showing the mechanism of articulate speech and the parts surrounding it. (Müller.)

tribe, however isolated or no matter how savage, known to-day, that is dumb or does not own some articulate

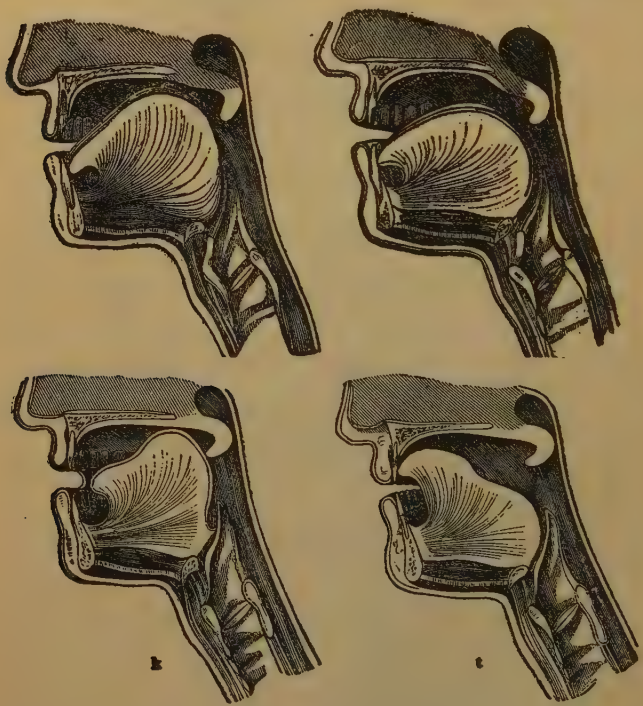


Fig. 2 —Vowels and Consonants.
Upper two diagrams reveal the slight difference in vowels, being "ee" and "ay" respectively; the lower two the rapid tongue changes in consonantal forms, the examples shown being "k" and "t." (Müller.)

speech. Life is so much bigger a thing to man than to beast that he had to talk about it.

Articulate speech is largely influenced, and indeed de-

termined, by the organs of articulation. The vocal mechanism is a wind instrument of which the lungs, compressed by the thorax, may be considered as bellows. The trachea,

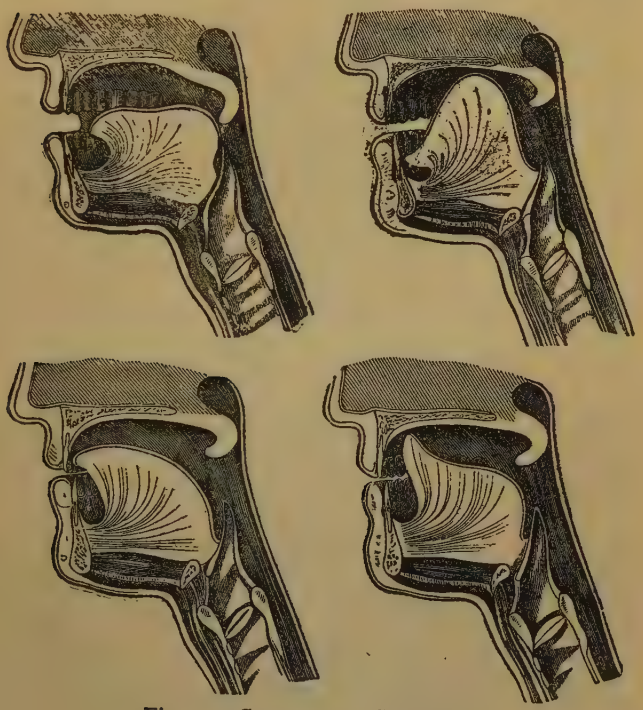


Fig. 3 —Checks and Sibilants.

Upper two diagrams represent the harsh sounds of the "ch," first in the Scotch "loch" and secondly in the German "ich"; the lower two diagrams the sounds of "s" and "sh" respectively. (Müller.)

or windpipe, leads from the bronchial tubes in the lungs to the pharynx or upper part of the throat, situated be-

hind the mouth cavity, and the larynx is placed in the opening of the trachea into the pharynx or throat. The larynx can be closed by a valve known as the epiglottis, which prevents the food from entering the trachea when swallowing.

Efforts have been made at various times to assign the origin of speech to attempts on the part of primitive man to mimic the sounds about him, or to evolve words from mere interjectional cries. These are known as the onomatopoetic and interjectional schools, or as Max Muller expressed the idea in an undying phrase, the "bow-wow" and "pooh-pooh" theories. A list of such words could readily be made up, names of birds like "bobolink" and "cuckoo"; of sounds, like "crack" and "whizz," but while these have contributed to the language, any effort to ascribe all roots to such beginnings have proved futile. The interjectional theory, once a vogue among philologists, has dropped out of sight, it could not stand the test of analysis.

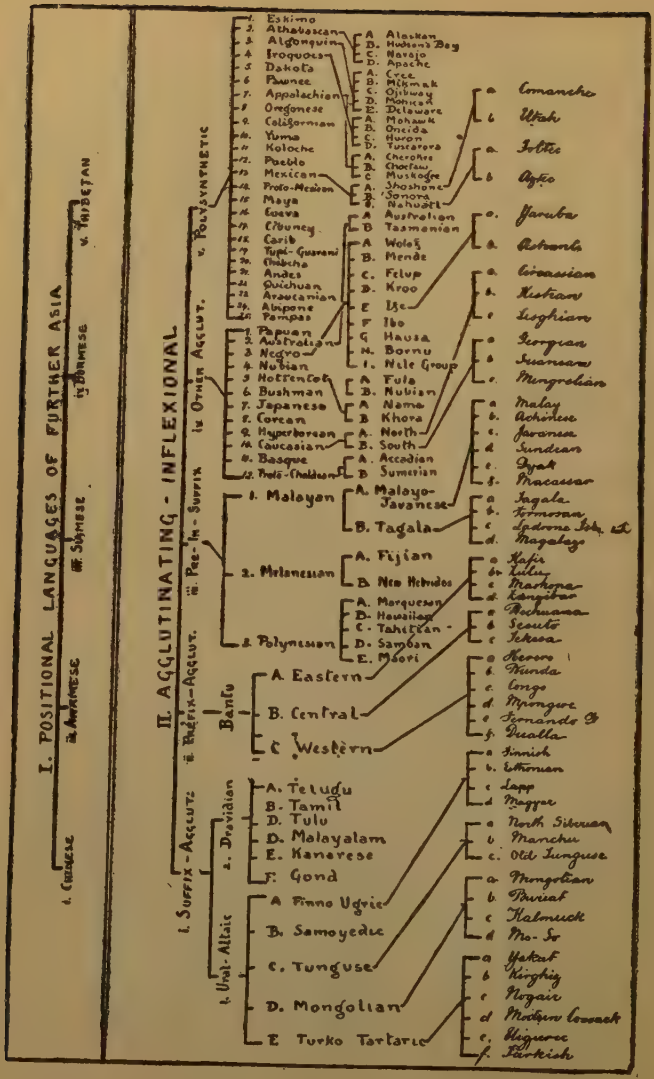
The Science of Language, in its present-day form, rather ignores the question of the real origin of the primal sounds and gives its whole endeavor to the tracing of the roots which underlie the words of all languages. If the question be asked, "Whence came these roots?" Muller again must be called on for reply. "I have said," he declares, "intentionally very little about roots; at least very little about the nature of the origin of roots, because I believe that in the Science of Language we must accept roots simply as ultimate facts, leaving to the physiologist and the psychologist the question as to the possible sympathetic or reflective action of the five senses upon the motor nerves of the organs of speech."

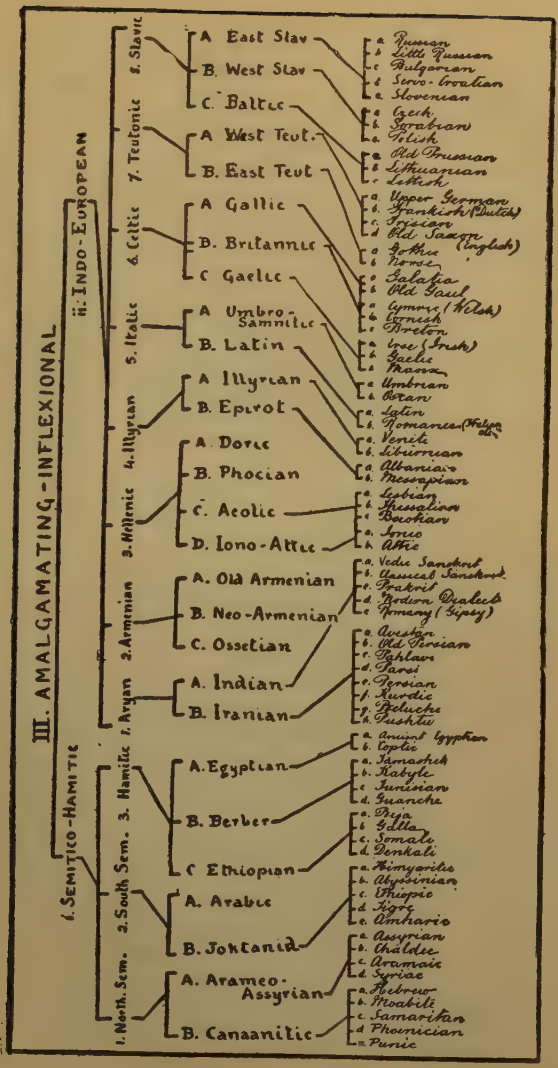
The essential lies not in the pedantic argument as to the birthplace of the root, but in the realization that the roots are vital, are alive. Language is not a cunning conventionalism arbitrarily agreed upon; it is an internal necessity, begotten of a lustful longing to express man's secret sense of his ability to interpret Nature.

It is not to be thought that the power to trace back words to a small number of roots in any way portrays a paucity of language, for Leibnitz has computed the possible word-combinations in an alphabet of twenty-four letters, no word to be more than three syllables long, as being 620,448,401,733,239,439,360,000. When to these are added inflectional changes and differences of intonations, it will be seen that the vocabulary is ample. The average business man's vocabulary will contain at most about 3,000 words.

The changes in these roots, in their grouping and in their relation each to each are what really constitute the development of Language. These changes are of two kinds: Phonetic, which deals with changes of the sound, and Semantic, which deals with the changes of the meaning. The former has led to the greater number of corruptions which have crept into the language—*e.g.*, "John's book," instead of "John his book," the latter to the modernizing of words and phrases. New knowledge gives new meaning to old terms, and this to so great an extent that even for the Elizabethan era, in many cases, a glossary of obsolete words or of words whose meaning has been greatly altered is found necessary.

It is these constant changes, be they phonetic or semantic, whether they partake of the nature of sound or meaning, which render the classification of language a task of extreme difficulty, especially in the more debased dialects. By carefully comparing similarities and variances of structure (the morphological plan) and by observing the inter-relations of vocabularies and word-systems (the genealogical basis) and connoting the results of these two, an outline which is correct as a general whole can be secured. The latest, and perhaps the one that most clearly views the whole field, is that used by W. L. Tucker in his "Introduction to the History of Language." With minor changes, it is as follows:


I. POSITIONAL LANGUAGES OF FURTHER ASIA
i. Chinese
ii. Annamese
iii. Siamese
iv. Burmese
v. Thibetan
II. AGGLUTINATING - INFLEXIONAL
i. Suffix - Agglut.
ii. Prefix - Agglut.
iii. Pre- In - Suffix
iv. Other Agglut.
v. Polysynthetic
1. Eskimo
2. Athabascan
3. Algonquin
4. Iroquois
5. Dakota
6. Pawnee
7. Appalachian
8. Oregonese
9. Californian
10. Yuma
11. Koloche
12. Pueblo
13. Mexican
14. Proto-Mexican
15. Maya
16. Cueva
17. Cibuney
18. Carib
19. Tupi-Guarani
20. Chibcha
21. Andes
22. Quichuan
23. Araucanian
24. Abipone
25. Pampas
1. Papuan
2. Australian
3. Negro
4. Nubian
5. Hottentot
6. Bushman
7. Japanese
8. Corean
9. Hyperborean
10. Caucasian
11. Basque
12. Proto-Chaldean
A. Alaskan
B. Hudson's Bay
C. Navajo
D. Apache
A. Cree
B. Mikmak
C. Ojibway
D. Mohican
E. Delaware
A. Mohawk
B. Oneida
C. Huron
D. Tuscarora
A. Cherokee
B. Choctaw
C. Muskogee
A. Shoshone
B. Sonora
C. Nahuatl
A. Australian
B. Tasmanian
A. Wolof
B. Mende
C. Felup
D. Kroo
E. Ife
F. Ibo
G. Hausa
H. Bornu
I. Nile Group
A. Fula
B. Nubian
A. Nama
B. Khora
A. North
B. South
A. Accadian
B. Sumerian
1. Malayan
A. Malayo-Javanese
B. Tagala
2. Melanesian
A. Fijian
B. New Hebrides
3. Polynesian
A. Marquesan
B. Hawaiian
C. Tahitian
D. Samoan
E. Maori
Bantu
A. Eastern
B. Central
C. Western
2. Dravidian
A. Telugu
B. Tamil
D. Tulu
D. Malayalam
E. Kanarese
F. Gond
1. Ural-Altaic
A. Finno Ugric
B. Samoyedic
C. Tunguse
D. Mongolian
E. Turko Tartaric
a. Comanche
b. Utah
a. Toltec
b. Aztec
a. Yaruba
b. Ashanti
a. Circassian
b. Kistian
c. Lesghian
a. Georgian
b. Suanian
c. Mingrelian
a. Malay
b. Achinese
c. Javanese
d. Sundian
e. Dyak
f. Macassar
a. Tagala
b. Formosan
c. Ladrone Isle
d. Magalayo
a. Kafir
b. Lulu
c. Mashona
d. Zanzibar
a. Rechuana
b. Sesuto
c. Tekesa
a. Herero
b. Wunda
c. Congo
d. Mpongwe
e. Fernando Po
f. Pualla
a. Finnish
b. Esthonian
c. Lapp
d. Magyar
a. North Siberian
b. Manchu
c. Old Tunguse
a. Mongolian
b. Buriat
c. Kalmuck
d. Mo-So
a. Yakut
b. Kirghiz
c. Nogair
d. Modern Cossack
e. Uiguric
f. Turkish


III. AMALGAMATING-INFLEXIONAL
ii. INDO-EUROPEAN
i. SEMITICO-HAMITIC
8. Slavic
7. Teutonic
6. Celtic
5. Italic
4. Illyrian
3. Hellenic
2. Armenian
1. Aryan
3. Hamitic
2. South Sem.
1. North. Sem.
A East Slav
B. West Slav
C. Baltic
A West Teut.
B. East Teut
A Gallic
B. Britannic
C Gaelic
A Umbro-Samnitic
B. Latin
A Illyrian
B. Epirot
A. Doric
B. Phocian
C. Aeolic
D. Iono-Attic
A. Old Armenian
B. Neo-Armenian
C. Ossetian
A. Indian
B. Iranian
A. Egyptian
B. Berber
C Ethiopian
A. Arabic
B. Joktanic
A. Arameo-Assyrian
B. Canaanitic
a. Russian
b. Little Russian
c. Bulgarian
d. Servo-Croatian
e. Slovenian
a. Czech
b. Sorabian
c. Polish
a. Old Prussian
b. Lithuanian
c. Lettish
a. Upper German
b. Frankish (Dutch)
c. Frisian
d. Old Saxon (English)
a. Gothic
b. Norse
a. Galatia
b. Old Gaul
a. Cymric (Welsh)
b. Cornish
c. Breton
a. Irish
b. Gaelic
c. Manx
a. Umbrian
b. Oscan
a. Latin
b. Romance (Helvetic)
a. Venete
b. Liburnian
a. Albanian
b. Messapian
a. Lesbian
b. Thessalian
c. Boeotian
a. Ionic
b. Attic
a. Vedic Sanskrit
b. Classical Sanskrit
c. Prakrit
d. Modern Dialects
e. Romany (Gipsy)
a. Avestan
b. Old Persian
c. Pahlavi
d. Parsi
e. Persian
f. Kurdic
g. Peluche
h. Pushtu
a. Ancient Egyptian
b. Coptic
a. Samashek
b. Kabyle
c. Tunisian
d. Guanche
a. Beja
b. Galla
c. Somali
d. Denkali
a. Himyaritic
b. Abyssinian
c. Ethiopic
d. Tigre
e. Amharic
a. Assyrian
b. Chaldee
c. Aramaic
d. Syriac
a. Hebrew
b. Moabite
c. Samaritan
d. Phoenician
e. Punic

The Science of Language, however, is by no means confined to this type of work. It has a vast purview and more and more is becoming a weapon of research into the important field of psychology. The philologist no longer studies the words alone, but the man behind the words; not the grammar alone, but the logic behind the grammar; not the phrase alone, but the philosophy behind the phrase. In this sense the Science of Language is largely a product of the last century.

"It is a young and growing science," says Max Muller, "that puts forth new strength with every year, that opens new prospects, new fields of enterprise on every side and rewards its students with richer harvests than could be expected from the exhausted soil (?) of the older sciences. The whole world is open, as it were, to the student of language. There is virgin soil close to our door and there are whole continents still to conquer, if we step beyond the frontiers of the ancient seats of civilization. And even were the old mines exhausted, the Science of Language would create its own materials, and as with the rod of the prophet, smite the pictured rocks of the desert to call from them new streams of living speech."

Philology has emblazoned upon its roll many illustrious names, extending from hoary antiquity to the present day, but as a science the synthetic conception had its first and foremost representative in Friedrich August Wolf, and it was by him admirably outlined in an essay published in 1807 and, significantly enough, dedicated to Goethe, 'Darstellung der Alterthumwissenschaft.' "Wolf conceived of philology as the biography of a nation," says Hanns Oertel in his 'Lectures on the Study of Language.' "He does not study the works of the ancients for their own sakes, but in order to become acquainted through them with those who produced them. Wolf proposed to do for these nations just what the biographer does for an idividaul. To him and his school philogy is not a history of the literature, or of the art, or of the religion of a given

nation, but a history of its life which rests upon the interrelation and combined action of all these factors.

"Even while Wolf's conception of philology reigned supreme," Oertel remarks in another portion of the same work, "we find analytical tendencies in Wolf's great rival, G. Hermann. Not for his results, but for his aims Hermann must be mentioned among the pioneers of the analytic treatment of languages. It was he who elevated grammatical studies from the ancillary position they had held and won for them relative independence. But he also introduced an abstract, logical method which derives its system not from the observed concrete facts of a language, but from logical and philosophic speculation.

"There are faint traces of a historical view in both Hermann and Wolf, but the first practical demonstration on a large scale of the application of the historical treatment to grammar was given in Jacob Grimm's monumental German grammar, the first volume of which appeared in 1819. Under Grimm's treatment it was inevitable that the interest of the investigator tracing the successive stages in the history of a given language, noting gains, losses and mutations, should become focused upon this process of evolution which was going on before his very eyes, and that thus both a firm basis and a strong incentive should be furnished for a study of the dynamic problems of speech."

This is very largely the point of view of Franz Bopp in his 'Ueber J. Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik,' wherein he writes, "A grammar in the higher, scientific use of the word must be both the history and the natural science of a language. It must, as far as possible, historically trace the road along which a language has risen to its perfection or sunk to low estate (this states the historical problem), but especially it should, after the manner of the natural sciences, investigate the laws according to which its development or its decay or its rebirth out of former ruins has taken place (this is the dynamic aspect of the problem)."

The compendium of August Schleicher (1861) sums up

all that had accrued in comparative grammar in the thirty years that had followed Bopp's work, but Schleicher did more than this. He originated the idea of inferentially constructing a parent language on the basis of actually existing cognate languages and dialects.

The comparative treatment, so conceived, differs from the historical treatment, not in aim but in method. In fact, it joins hands with the latter and endeavors to extend its scope beyond the line of the earliest historical records into the prehistoric past. The basis upon which most philological work rests is the direct evidence of extant records, literary remains, monuments, etc. The historical method taught the student to arrange these so that by an unbroken line the most recent ones should be connected with the oldest. But with these oldest direct records the historical method came to a halt, because direct testimony was exhausted. It was here, then, that the comparative method of dealing with cognate languages supplied a means by which the still earlier prehistoric periods might be opened up; that a proper setting might be furnished to these oldest historical periods and a sequence be established which, for want of evidence, otherwise would have been broken.

Wilhelm von Humboldt caused the whole of philologic attention to be centered on grammatical structure, a matter so technical that a reaction against it was led by F. Eucken, who voiced the conception of Language as an independent organism.

This naturalistic attitude was brought back to its true relation by H. Steinthal, who led the psychological reaction. He was the first to place linguistics on a true psychological basis, and his chiefest work lay in his recognition that linguistic phenomena as a whole were different from the psychological phenomena of a single individual.

Steinthal was the first true herald to recognise the fact that the phenomena of the mind which manifest themselves in recognised speech are variant from those which may be

peculiar to a single person, and in grouping these speech-relations with the phenomena of custom, he proclaimed a new principle in philology. Speech is only possible where there are hearers, but the reflex action upon speech of the hearer formerly had been overlooked. In his 'Logik und Psychologie' Steinthal puts this matter very succinctly when he says, "It is the important fate of the human soul not to exist as an independent individual but to exist as a member of some community, which from the beginning, both in body and soul, forms part of some people. By birth every man belongs to some society which materially influences his psychical development. So that the individual cannot be fully comprehended without reference to the community within which he was born and lives."

It is this same conception which so largely enters into the question of the acceptance of words. Hanns Oertel, in the volume previously quoted, presents this at some length. He says, in part, "Inasmuch as every social phenomenon owes its existence not only to individual creation but also to communal acceptance (in fact, it does not become a social phenomenon except by such acceptance), it can easily be seen that a proper valuation of linguistic facts is only obtained by treating them as social phenomena. The individual does not create his language, but he receives in childhood a ready-made set of symbols which he must henceforth use as best he can. And, in gradually appropriating these definite symbols during the formative period of his mental life, they are used as a supporting trellis around which the latter grows up.

"The forms of every language represent certain characteristic groups of associations, relations, emotions; and the child, in learning to use them intelligently, is forced to arrange his mental contents in the same groups in which the preceding generations arranged theirs. For this reason language serves as the most important assimilative factor by which minds of new generations are forced into uniformity with those of their ancestors. The social value

of Language lies in this fact—that it makes psychical heredity possible."

It is the life in Language and its transmissibility that have led to Literature. "One must not," writes Wilhelm von Humboldt, "consider a language as a product dead and formed but once; it is an animate being and ever creative. Human thought elaborates itself with the progress of the intelligence, and of this thought Language is a manifestation. An idiom therefore cannot remain stationary; it walks, it develops, it grows up, it fortifies itself, it becomes old and it reaches decrepitude."

There is, however, a certain danger in this readiness for change in Language, the danger of a too constant flux. In the earliest times this was in part avoided by the memory powers of the story-tellers and later the reciters of sacred hymns and liturgies. With a superstitious reverence attaching to the text, most strenuous endeavors were made to preserve even the accent along the conventional channels. This was of great value, the more so as the memory, thus trained from childhood and transmitted hereditarily through generations, became stored to an extent that the modern Occidental types would hardly believe possible. It is, even in these days, when memory is not so cultivated, no such difficult task to learn ten thousand lines of verse, and even the vocabulary of ten thousand lines, preserved in their purity, would go far to keep the standard of a language to its level.

But the increasing diversity of life and the extension of relation to more distant countries speedily pointed out the necessity not only of communication but also of permanent communication. Speech and Language were all very well in their way, but the residuum of knowledge had grown so great, the interests of life had so expanded that some methods of fixing the evanescent speech became obligatory. From mere gibberish and harsh cry had evolved Language, and the need for the perpetuation of Language pointed the way to writing.

CHAPTER II

WRITING

THE essential difference between Speech and Writing is that the former appeals to the ear, the latter to the eye. "The first endeavors at the communication of thought to the eye," says W. L. Tucker in his 'Introduction to the History of Language,' "would naturally take the shape of drawings or sketches, such as those executed by the American Indians or the Australian aboriginals. These would represent a whole scene, which each observer would interpret for himself according to his own lights and the greater or less detail and precision of the delineation. Doubtless within a particular tribe or community there would grow up certain traditional principles to assist in both the execution and the reading of a drawing, but even more beyond doubt is the fact that such sketches would only express the concrete elements in very simple notions, leaving undetermined—so far as the drawing was a drawing and nothing else—anything abstract or any conditions of time, place, fact or contingency. They therefore necessarily admitted of various and often contradictory interpretations."

The distinction between a picture and a pictograph is not always clearly borne in mind. Suppose, for example, that the subject which was to be represented was the seizure of a young girl by a warrior who has braved the dangers of an enemy's camp and is carrying her away in his canoe. This would make a clear scene in a true picture.

In the background would appear the tent from which the girl was taken, with her father issuing therefrom, brandishing a spear in rage; in the foreground the warrior with the girl in his arms, and near by, the canoe. But the details of time and all abstract conceptions would have to be omitted, for the picture could not portray them. It is well known how difficult it is even for the greatest artists to depict subtle ideas and how impossible to portray a consecution of such.

Suppose, however, that the artist drew a succession of single signs. Thus he might depict first the figure of a warrior, then his totem sign to show to what tribe he belonged, then a canoe, then three suns, then a tent with a different totem sign on it, then a hawk, then a girl, then a snake, then an eagle with the girl on his back, then a shower of arrows, then a canoe with two figures in it. The story thus pictographically represented would declare that a warrior whose totem sign was shown had taken a three days' journey by canoe to a hostile camp. He had then scouted about the hostile camp like a hawk until he located the tepee in which the girl he sought was to be found. Then, like a snake, he had crept into the tepee, and taking the girl in his arms, had fled as swiftly as an eagle, and, although pursued by a shower of arrows, had escaped unharmed and had returned to his home with the girl in his canoe. It is readily seen how much more complete is the story when told pictographically than the story told pictorially, and at the same time it becomes evident that picture-writing belongs to a far earlier stage than writing by pictographs.

In neither of these cases is there any connection between symbol and individual sound or indeed between symbol and speech at all. It is thought, not language, which puts on the visible shape. This fact is made abundantly clear by the reflection that this picture-writing, as a medium of communication, would be just as effective between the deaf-and-dumb who have never known any language or

between foreigners whose languages would be mutually unintelligible. Like gesture, it has no reference to the operations of the vocal apparatus and makes no attempt to indicate them.

The Eskimo medium of communication was midway between the two. In part it consisted of pictographs, in part it was a picture and in part it endeavored to express the

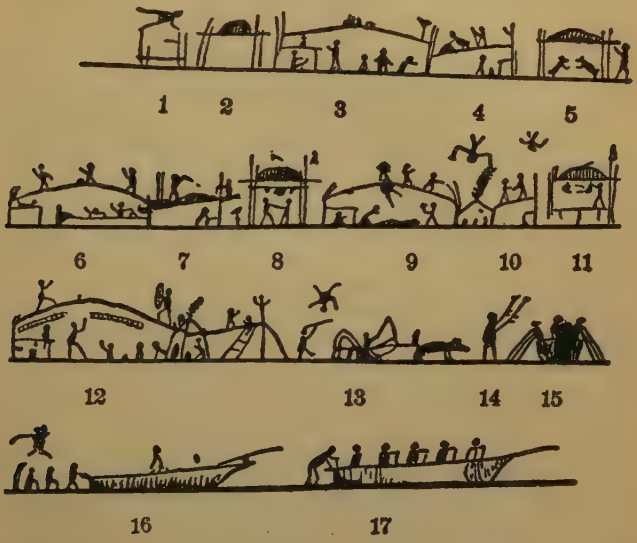


Fig. 4 —Eskimo Record.

Figures from a bow. 1., indicates intent of owner to turn at end of bow; an empty storehouse; 2., a rack with food; 3., hut with family, shaman stick on roof; 4., entrance to house; 5., dog-fight under food-rack; 6., 7., hut and entrance, one man lying down, others seated at table; 8., storehouse, two men having just hung up meat to dry; 9., 10., hut, with sick man and evil spirit coming down smoke-hole to take his life (?); 11., man hanging up food; 12., hut with inmates; 13., sled, driver using whip; 14., trader hailing boat; 15., canoe, viewed from bow (note foreshortening); 16., boat being pushed ashore; 17., boat about to start again.

more difficult conceptions by the use of pictured gestures. Thus a man points to himself for the meaning "I," but he points away from himself to mean "go." Thus a man pointing to himself, followed by a man pointing away from himself, means "I go" (not two men as a pure picture would imply). Here, then are three stages in the transmission of communication: First, the picture; second, the pictured gestures in succession; third, the pictograph. But none of these bore relation to sound, only to idea.

The case is not very different with the "knot-writing," which was practiced at a remote period of Chinese history, and which, as quipu-writing, was found by the Spaniards in regular use among the officials of the Incas of Peru. "The quipu," as described by Tucker, "was a cord, measuring from two feet upward, from which hung a parti-colored fringe of threads. These were knotted and intertwined in various conventional ways and, partly by the colors and sequence of the threads, partly by the disposition and number of the knots, they could be employed so as to convey official messages and preserve records. This, of course, necessitated the representation not only of material objects, but also of abstract notions. For the latter purpose the colors were employed. Thus white stood for 'silver' or 'peace,' red for 'gold' or 'war.'

"Here we take a distinct step beyond the sketch writing of the North American Indian, inasmuch as we must assume for the Peruvian method the existence of a previous understanding or code of interpretation between the parties employing the device. Whatever the origin of the practice, the connection between thought on the one hand and colors and knots on the other became purely artificial and conventional, and instruction for both reader and 'writer' was as necessary as it is with the modern alphabetical system.

"We can therefore perhaps hardly deny that this quipu method was a form of writing. That it was utterly inadequate and helplessly dependent on special materials is no doubt an immense disadvantage, but hardly touches the

essence of the matter. More to the point is the fact that it was purely symbolical of ideas and not of the sound in which those ideas were orally conveyed. It was not made up of signs with distinct phonetic values, but of signs with notional values in the rough. Given, therefore, the secret of a knot or color, it would have been possible for persons of entirely different languages to write the same thought identically in quipu. In other words, it has, like picture-writing, no relation to speech, but only to thought."

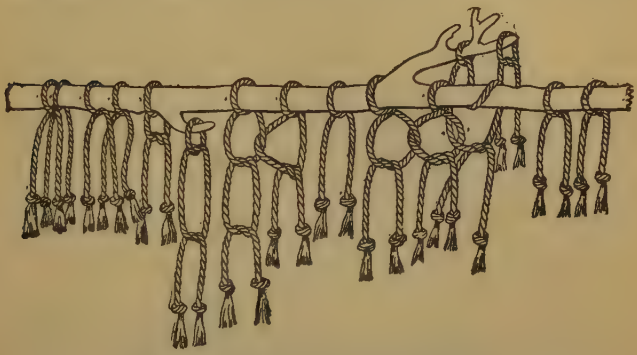


Fig. 5 —QUIPU-WRITING FROM PERU.
Each strand is of a different color, and their arrangement and intertwining convey the message.

Like the picture, the quipu led nowhither. It possessed no vitality in itself, and the increasing boundaries of its usefulness increased its complexity and made it the more ungainly to handle. As a mere record of official acts its limitations were not so apparent, for the same round of duties were recorded over and over again. But no sooner was an attempt made to extend it to the purposes of common life than it was found too cumbersome. In a word, from the quipu no Literature could have evolved.

The pictograph, on the other hand, bore within itself the possibilities of growth. It was but little removed from the

ideogram, which was simply the depiction of an idea, but which differed from the pictograph in that the latter would convey one idea—tho that idea might be expressed in a phrase of many words—while the ideogram set forth the one word alone. At first, of course, there were as many ideograms as there were concrete concepts, and under such a system the entire concrete group could be adequately transcribed. Naturally the ideograms in different nations would be different. Thus the Egyptian ideogram for water was taken from the rippling Nile in flood and consequently was three wavy lines horizontally set one above the other, but the Aztec ideogram was that of water being poured from a jug.

Various writers, moreover, familiarized with various types, would make variant ideograms for the same thought, and this would lead to a confusion of ideas. But, as time passed on, that one which seemed more easily differentiated from the others or which was easier to draw would secure popular favor. Thus while the original pictographs and even the first ideograms might have been in part mutually translatable, the one set of conventionalized symbols might have little in common with another. Such a change is seen in the accompanying developments of 'mountain.' The chiefest difficulty, however, lay in the representation of purely abstract ideas. Thus, for example, how was such an important concept as 'if' to be expressed by a picture which should be recognised as being 'if'?

Curiously enough, the chief present difficulty of language was the true beginning of writing. Every family of speech has a number of homonyms; that is to say, words which sound alike but have different meanings. Sometimes they are even spelt alike. Thus there is a 'box' hedge, a 'box' on the ear, a 'box' of toys, a 'box' of a coach, and the last word itself as a homonym for a coach is also one for he who teaches a special study or sport. Sometimes they are spelt differently, such as 'piece' and 'peace,' 'to,' 'too' and 'two,' 'sail' and 'sale,' and hundreds more.

Thus in Chinese, for example, the sound 'hua' has twenty-six different definite meanings.

The ideogram for one meaning of these homonyms thus came to be associated in each language with the sound of the word used. As, for example, a square box meant a box containing certain articles, but it also came to mean the other senses of 'box' also. This led to a great deal of confusion until the device was adopted of using the ideogram for a square 'box' in all its meanings, but putting a leaf beside it to show it was a 'box' hedge, or a wheel

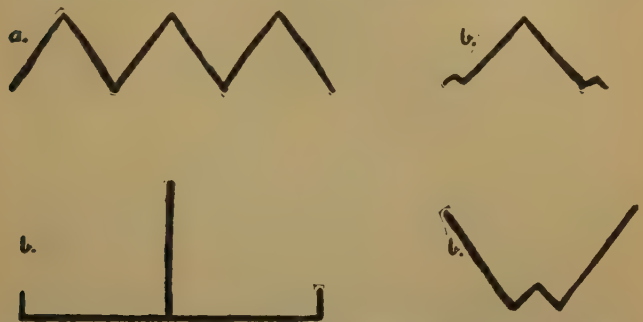


Fig. 6 —Ideographic Changes; *a.*, Original; *b.*, *b.*, *b.*, Variations.

beside it, to show that what was meant was the 'box' of a coach. (The reader will understand that this English example is for the purpose of showing the method and is not a concrete case.)

In Chinese, to give an example of actual happening, the word 'hua,' among its many meanings, represented 'prince' and 'cold water.' Of these the more important was 'prince,' wherefore the ideogram for 'hua' alone meant prince, and when the sense of 'cold water' was desired to be expressed, this was done by adding the symbol of water. Further confusion might arise, however, by reading into the symbol of water its own meaning, and thus

perhaps 'prince' 'water' might imply that it was a royal bath. Therefore to show that this explanatory symbol was not to be read but was merely to point out the manner in

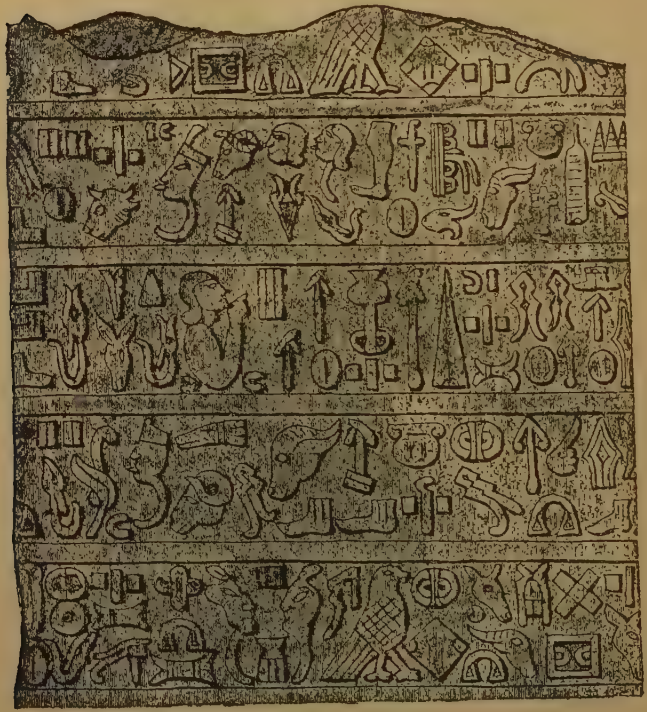


Fig. 7 —Archaic Hittite Inscription.

which the 'hua' should be read, the sign for water was written in the old, unabbreviated ideogram, the sign for 'hua' in the new shortened form. This was as far as true Chinese ever reached, and modern Chinese has developed

from this arrested system. The Hittite hieroglyphs never reached as far.

In Egypt, however, while a similar process went on, a

Fig. 8 —First Known Song.

Egyptian hieroglyphs of early period. Line 1., "Thresh for yourselves" (twice); line 2., "O oxen"; line 3., "Thresh for yourselves" (twice); line 4., "Measures for yourselves"; line 5., "Measures for your masters."

different order of things arose in the idea of prefixes and suffixes. If, for example, the addition of a letter meant 'father' and of another letter 'mother' and so forth, it

was easy to see that each letter possessed a value. Chinese never conceived a smaller unit than a word, but Egyptian truly realized the meaning of a syllable. The development of this was that the initial consonantal sound sign of a certain group of similar-sounding syllables came to be placed in front of all such syllables and thence naturally passed to a representation of the consonantal sound itself.

It was by this means that a true alphabet came tentatively into existence. "Nevertheless," points out Tucker, "tho purely alphabetical sounds appear on very antique monuments, the ancient Egyptians themselves never came

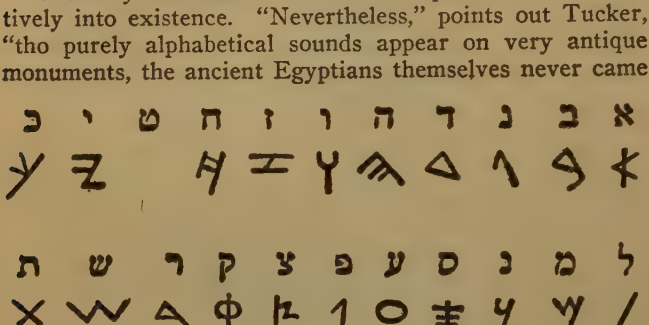
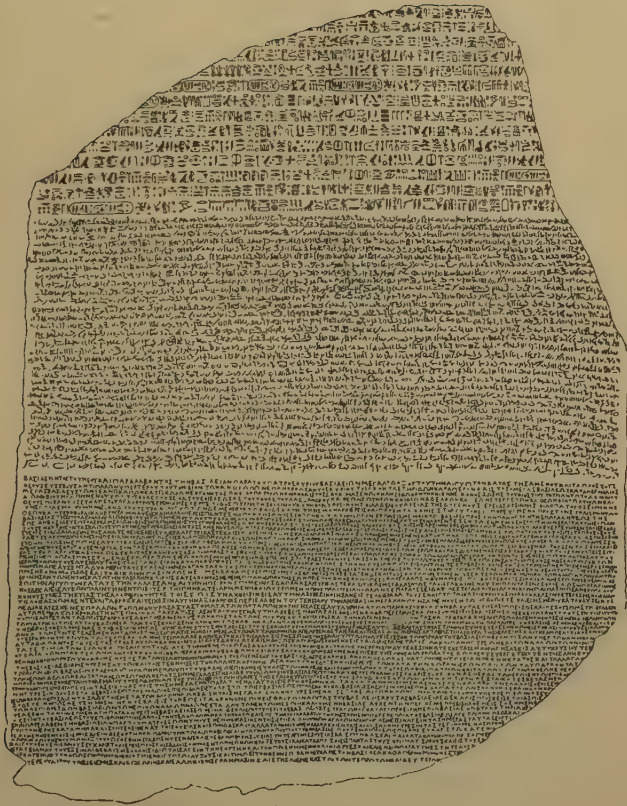


Fig. 9 —Hebrew and Phenicio-Moabite Alphabets.

to employ them purely and consistently. The older methods of ideography and of syllable phonograms continued still to blend with the incomparably more convenient device for which the way had been shown. The consistent use of alphabetical characters triumphed only when an alien people borrowed for the purposes of its own language the best expedients at which Egypt had arrived."

These people were unquestionably the Phenicians. That the Babylono-Phenician alphabet came from Egypt was a tradition of antiquity, and there seems little doubt, since the researches of De Rouge, that the tradition can be deemed substantiated. There are excellent remains of the cursive hieratic writing—that is to say, the general correspondence writing hand of the priests and merchants of



ROSETTA STONE, THE CLUE TO THE HIEROGLYPHS.

early times, and it seems sure that it was from this that the alphabet was formed. The hieroglyph, intended for carving, was unsuitable, and the later demotic or commercial writing of Egypt had not been developed.

The Phenicians, like all trading peoples, found it necessary to possess a lingua franca, and it is fair to assume that there were dialects and differences in the historic script. Even to the script of the Moabite stone every letter of the Roman alphabet can be traced, and to other hieratic the resemblance is closer still. The Phenicians were radical in their adoptive measures, casting aside all determinant ideograms and variants. In this reforming of the language Cadmus is given by tradition the greatest credit. But without knowing definitely to whom the credit may be ascribed, it was little short of wonderful that the true idea of one sign for one sound should have arisen from the confused Egyptian system and that there should have been formed a true alphabet of twenty-two letters.

But one part of the old heritage remained—the alphabet was syllabic in that it had no vowels. Thus "T" might mean "Ta," or "Te," or "Ti," or "To." This was not of so much difficulty in Phenician, but when the alphabet was adopted by the Greeks, with their intensely orotund language, they dropped four of the extra sibilants which stood for non-Greek sounds and took them to represent the vowels 'a,' 'e,' 'i' and 'o.'

The subject of writing material and its influence upon the development of writing is another subject of too vast a scope for treatment here. It is seen in the change between the hieroglyph carved upon the temple wall and the hieratic writing intended for thin and flimsy papyrus, but its most remarkable development was in the Assyrian cuneiform. This has not been touched upon in the previous consideration of the development of writing, since it bore no relation to the final result.

The famous wedge-shaped cuneiform inscriptions of the Assyrians were simply a device to draw on wet clay. In

Fig. 10 —The Triumph of the Alphabet, Letters in Type.

the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates was no stone and all cities were built of clay. There was no papyrus and all the writing was on clay. There was not even pebble for seals—all were made of clay. The principal difficulty of such writing is that the clay pushes up before the stylus and mars the whole. Therefore it must be done by stamping rather than writing. Had the Assyrians possessed an alphabet at this time the stamping would have been no difficulty, but they did not; they were still drawing pictures. Therefore no set of stamps could be made, for the

Fig. 11 —Earliest Babylonian Characters.

reason that each new concept would require a different stamp.

Almost all things can be expressed or drawn in a fashion by straight lines, and therefore the Assyrians had little steles or punches made of three different lengths. With these they stamped in the moist clay the figure they desired to produce. As writing progressed and the eye and hand became familiarized, stroke after stroke of the ideogram was left out, until the barest skeleton remained, no longer a picture but a symbol which had to be learned just as did the alphabet. But it never attained an alphabetical form,

and created as it was for a certain environment of time and place, it had no means of historical perpetuation. Chinese has lived on in a changed form to this day, Egyptian lives in the English alphabet through its adoption by Phenician channels, but Assyrian cuneiform and the Central American hieroglyphs are as extinct as the dodo.

Thus came Writing into the world and thus it developed. Taking upon itself the changed circumstances of race and

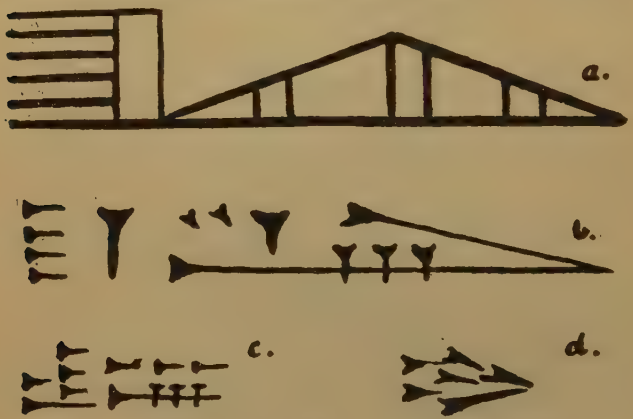


Fig. 12 —"King" in Archaic and Later Cuneiform-

time, of material and of concept, Writing has gone on and on, becoming with each succeeding change more potent in its influence on the race. It is the foundation of all knowledge, the keystone of all civilization. The part of human information which is secured from observation, untrained by reading, is infinitesimal. Remove at one fell swoop all the books upon the earth, sweep away all records, expunge from the minds of all men the power or even the thought of transmitting their thoughts, and what would remain? No railroad could run without time-table and telegraphic dispatch, and with all trains stopped, the cities would be

deserted, for no food supplies could reach; factories would close, mills shut down, industries pass into oblivion, scholarship be forgotten and law become annulled. All these

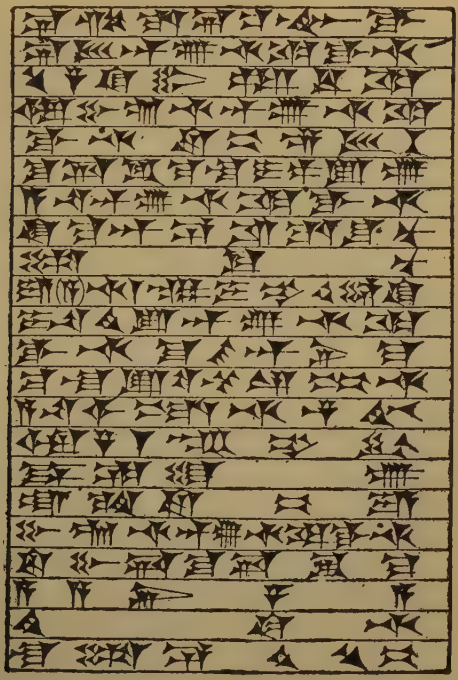


Fig. 13 —Cuneiform Writing at Time of Assyria's Greatness. Note the form used for 'king,' in the third line from the bottom.

great civilizations of the present day would dwindle, and knowledge would collapse like a house of cards, but for the great foundation stones of the Science of Language and the Art of Writing.

CHAPTER III

SACRED BOOKS OF THE ANCIENTS

The earliest Literature of the world, and the most important because of its bearing upon the development of man, is the Literature of the Sacred Books. Every nation that reached the scale of civilization wherein Literature was possible had its Sacred Books, and these were not only the best known and most revered of the writings of those nations, but they were also the means of crystallizing and conserving the very language itself.

In the Sacred Books, the earlier ones particularly, almost all the knowledge and thought of the time is to be found. They contain philosophy and versification; they portray science and depict art; they discuss economics and relate parable; they wax denunciatory or glide into a pastoral. No two literary styles could be more unlike, for example, than the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the idyll of the Book of Ruth; nothing more diverse in character than the list of legal observances in Leviticus and the love-poetry of the Song of Solomon; nothing more utterly dissimilar than the medical directions concerning leprosy laid down in the Pentateuch and the visionary fantasies of Ezekiel.

These illustrations as to the diversity of matter to be found in the Sacred Books of the world have been taken from the Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, for the double reason that it is the most familiar to the reader and is, perhaps, the oldest. It might be more correct to say that parts of it are older than any other sacred books for the

reason that the Hebrew Bible is not so much a rewritten story of old traditions as a compilation of the old traditions themselves placed side by side.

The difference between this ancient plan and the modern method is well stated by James Robertson in his 'Book by Book,' wherein he says, "Whereas a modern historian, after consulting his authorities and verifying his facts, relates occurrences in his own words, with a reference to the sources from which he has drawn, we have here the very words of the authorities: family registers, lists of places, fragments of old poetry, stories of bygone days and details of the lives of ancient heroes, minute regulations of social life or ritual service are all strung upon the one thread of the history, but their individuality is not obliterated."

Much turns, therefore, on the identity of this compilatory historian. But his identity is legion! No manuscript in the world has gone through such vicissitudes as the Hebrew Bible, none has passed through so many hands. Despite the storm of controversy that has raged concerning the exegesis of the Old Testament, an effort will be made to state here what is generally admitted concerning its authorship.

The first five books, commonly ascribed to Moses and generally known as the Pentateuch, are to be considered as of more importance than the other books. From the earliest times tradition speaks of these books as "the law of Moses," altho it is particularly to be noticed that in the books themselves the Mosaic origin is not claimed. Certain passages are declared to have been set down by Moses, but certain other passages are assigned to different sources.

Not infrequently those things supposed to have been written by Moses are obviously spoken advice to Aaron and the priestly tribe, counsel given to the elders or the decrees of an assembly of the elders. In the sense, therefore, that Moses was the dictator of the Jewish people at this period, and that judicial and religious codes were

drafted by him, it may be said that he was the inspirer of the formation of the Pentateuch; and work belonging to the Mosaic period, accomplished at the behest and with the advice of the great lawgiver himself, according to Oriental ideas, would be ascribed to him. Thus the first period of the Old Testament is the compiling of the Pentateuch under the eye of, if not by the hand of, Moses.

The second period was that during which the Hebrew nation was governed first by the judges (a modified theocracy) and later by the great monarchs Saul, David and Solomon, thence splitting into the divided kingdoms. It was the golden age of the Hebrew race and their greatness found its way into their literature in two channels—the historical books of the Old Testament and the poetical books. The books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings and Chronicles (with Ruth and Esther) relate the history of that time; the books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon reveal the development of the national spirit. Temple observances multiplied and the old knowledge of the Pentateuch began to fall into disuse. The later reigns, with their idolatrous desecrations, brought things to such a pass that a great sensation was caused in the days of Josiah, when Hilkiah the priest discovered in some hiding-place the lost and almost forgotten "temple manuscript of the law." Soon after, falls upon Israel the darkness of the Babylonian captivity.

The third period extends from the time of Ezra and the return of the exiles to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (70 A.D.). "It is introduced," says J. Paterson Smyth in his "The Old Documents and the New Bible," "by the touching scene in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah, the thousands of returned exiles that September morning in the 'broad place that was before the water gate' in Jerusalem, with their ruined temple in the distance, and Ezra the scribe, from the pulpit of wood, reading to them out of his Hebrew manuscript the almost forgotten words of Moses. But the glory is departed of the ancient days; the

holy tongue sounds strangely in ears accustomed so long to the speech of their Chaldean masters, and in the simple words of the prophet, 'all the people wept when they heard the law.' "

During the Babylonian captivity, banished from their temple, the Jews had originated synagogues, and after their return Ezra brought into being "The Great Synagogue," as it was called. This group of scholars collected all the manuscripts of the law, of the historical books, of the poetical books and of the prophecies which had been made just prior to and during the Babylonian captivity. Of these they made the complete Jewish Bible and the 'decreed books' or the 'canon' of the Old Testament was closed, so that no books written afterward would be received as inspired. This is the complete Hebrew Bible, or Old Testament, of which a Greek translation, called the Septuagint, was made in Alexandria at the order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, then king of Egypt.

The fourth period is that of the Massoretes. After the destruction of the temple naught remained to the Jews but their traditions, and for five centuries the scribes labored over the Talmud, which is a traditional explanation (Mishna) of the Law of Moses, and a series of commentaries (Gemara) upon that tradition. But during this period a number of oral regulations had been handed down regarding the right method of reading the text, the accuracy of certain passages, etc., and these were called the Massorah or the Tradition.

Owing to the dispersion of the Jewish race, it became continuously more important to commit these to writing, and the scribes who did so were called the Massoretes, wherefore the text which these scholars have handed down is known as the Massoretic text. The greater part of this work was done between 500 A.D. and 1000 A.D. The value of the work of the Massoretes is twofold. First, they carefully revised a text, pointing out obvious inaccuracies, and, secondly, they invented a system of vowel-points. The

early texts were written without vowels, without divisions between the words and could only be read by oral tradition. Thus, for example, 'THLRDSMSHPRD'SHLLNTWNT' would appear at first sight almost unreadable, but if the phrase, "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want," was in mind, the consonants would serve as a sufficient guide.

The Massoretes also actually invented their entire vowel

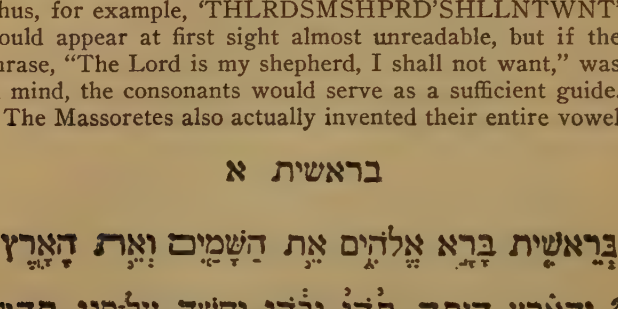


Fig. 14 —Hebrew Bible, Genesis, Chapter I, Verses 1-5.

system, which could be added outside the letters, so that the actual text need not be changed, and then divided the words from each other. Of the earlier types there are none, and the earliest dated manuscript is one of 916 A.D. There is one in the British Museum which may be a few, a very few years older. Thus, strange as it may seem, the world possesses an earlier complete copy of the Koran, the latest of the great Sacred Books, than it does of the com-

plete Hebrew Bible, the earliest. An ancient Syriac commentary, that of St. Ephraem, refers to a 'palimpsest' or document written upon the second time after the earlier writing had grown faint. This may be as early as the second century, and portions of the original writing have been restored by the use of chemicals.

The Old Testament is so well known and contains so many points of view that it is difficult to select a quotation that shall be typical of its spirit, but perhaps the direct commandments of Moses might be regarded as presenting a fair example as found in Exodus xx, 1-17. The first two commandments and their effect upon the people follow:

"So Moses went down unto the people and spake unto them:

" 'And God spake all these words, saying,

" 'I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

" 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

" 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth:

" 'Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me;

" 'And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.'

"And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet and the mountain smoking (Mt. Sinai); and when the people saw it, they removed, and stood afar off.

"And they said unto Moses, 'Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die.' "

Reaching as far back as the twenty-fourth century B.C., documents dealing with the old dynasties are found in the ancient books of China. They are reverenced as Sacred Books and must so here be treated, but they are scarcely Sacred Books in the sense that they deal with sacred subjects. Indeed, it may be stated that no such array of books exists in the world in which there is less religious philosophy than in the Sacred Books of China.

The first and greatest in historical importance of these books is called the Shu, and since the period of the Han dynasty, the Shu King. Its documents commence with the reign of Yao in the twenty-fourth century B.C. and they come down to those of King Hsiang of the Kau dynasty (651-619 B.C.). Only second in importance is the Shih, or the Book of Poetry, often called the Shih King. It contains in all 305 pieces, five of which are of the time of the Shang dynasty (1766-1123 B.C.). The others belong to the dynasty of Kau from the time of its founder, King Wan (1231 B.C.), to King Ting (586 B.C.). The book as a whole is divided into four parts, the last of which is occupied with "Odes of the Temple and the Altar."

The third book is the Yi, commonly called the Book of Changes. "This is often thought the most ancient, but wrongly so, since no portion of the text is older than the time of King Wan," says James Legge in the introduction to his translation of the Shu King. "There were and indeed are in it trigrams ascribed to Fu-hsi, who is generally considered as the founder of the Chinese nation and whose place in chronology should probably be ascribed to the thirty-fourth century B.C." The eight trigrams are again increased to sixty-four hexagrams, all compounded of a strange and arbitrary arrangement of long and short lines. "But what ideas Fu-hsi attached to the primary lines," says Legge again, "what significance he gave to his trigrams, what to the sixty-four hexagrams and why their number should stop there—of none of these points is there any knowledge from him." Copious notes were made on these

figures by Wan and his equally famous son, the Duke of Kau, but the interpretations are forced and not infrequently contradictory.

The fourth of the great books is the Li-Ki, or Record of Rites. But this is scarcely more than the official register of the Kau dynasty. It enumerates the various office-holders of the empire and describes their duties, together with the proper ceremonies for installation and matters of that kind. It is not more religious than a 'Court Circular' or a 'Congressional Record.'

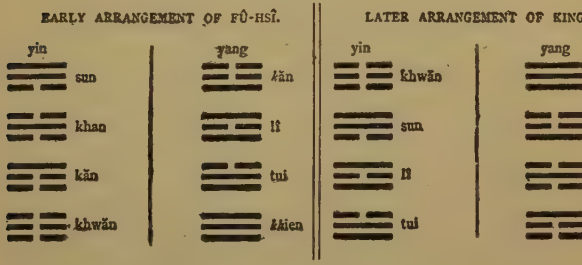


Fig. 15 —Undeciphered Trigrams of the Yi King.

The fifth and last King, or Sacred Book, is ascribed to Confucius himself. This is the Khun Khiu, but it consists merely of the annals of his native state Lu from 722-481 B.C. These are the five Kings. To them are usually added the four Shu, books of four philosophers. These are the Lun Yu, containing conversations between Confucius and his disciples; the works of Mencius; the Ta Hsio, which is ascribed to Tsang-Tze, and the Kung Yung to the son of the latter, Tze-Tze.

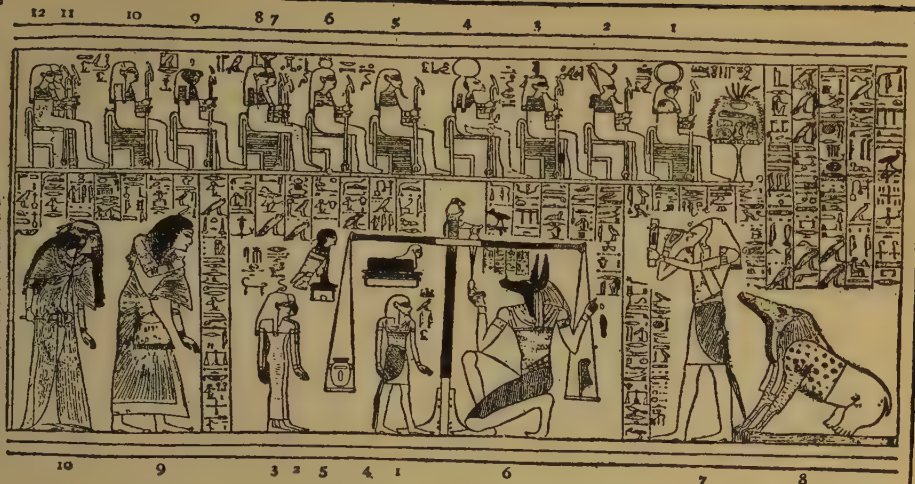
China's greatest statesman, K'ung-foo-tseu, better known as Confucius, was born about 550 B.C. and as a conserver of tradition and an economist probably never has known a

peer. He was certainly for many years Minister of Justice and tradition states that he was also Prime Minister. Absolutely different in type from the great medieval statesman, Cardinal Richelieu, his policies were identical. He aggrandized the monarchy at the expense of the nobility, centralized the government and regarded his actions as being Destiny incarnate.

Confucius was a sublime moralist, but not a religionist. The name of any supreme being only appears once in his entire writings. "The most marked feature in the religion of the Chinese before his time," says John Lord, "was the worship of ancestors, and this worship he did not seek to change. He did not like to talk of spiritual things, professing no interest in the working out of abstruse questions, either of philosophy or theology. Hence he did not aspire to throw any new light on the great problems of human condition and destiny; nor did he speculate, like the Ionian philosophers, on the creation or end of things. He confined his attention to outward phenomena—to the world of sense and matter—to forms, precedents, ceremonies, proprieties, rules of conduct, filial duties and duties to the State, enjoining temperance, honesty and sincerity as the cardinal and fundamental laws of private and national prosperity. He was a man of the world, and all his teachings have reference to respectability in the world's regard. He doubted more than he believed."

Among these books of the distant ages past is the papyrus of the Egyptian 'Book of the Dead.' It is best known from texts and citations placed in mummy cases as advice or protection to the spirit of the man and woman who was awaiting judgment. One of the most famous examples is the Egyptian 'Final Judgment' of Ani, a scribe who has just died.

But little less ancient in date and possessing a hoariness of antiquity which makes it seem even further back in the history of man is the Vedic literature of India, which



Above are the twelve gods and goddesses:
(1) Harmachis,
(2) Tmu,
(3) Shu,
(4) Tefnut,
(5) Seb,
(6) Nut,
(7) Isis,
(8) Nephthys,
(9) Horus,
(10) Hathor,
(11) Hu, and
(12) Sa.

The heart of Ani is being weighed against the feather, emblematic of Law. On the right of the balance kneels the jackal-headed god (6) Anubis, scrutinizing the tongue of the balance, and on the left are (1) Ani's "Luck" or "Destiny," the goddesses (2) Meskhenet, and (3) Renenet, who presided over his birth and infancy, his soul (5) in the form of a human-headed bird, and a human-headed object or "mesk-hen" (4) which is thought to be connected with his place of birth. Behind Anubis (6) stands the ibis-headed god (7) Thoth, the scribe of the gods, having his palette and reed to record the result of the weighing, and by his side stands the beast called (8) Ammemet, part crocodile, part lion, part hippopotamus, ready to devour the heart if found too light. The scribe Ani (9) and Tutu (10) his wife are present with bowed heads.

Fig. 16 —Scene from Egyptian Book of the Dead.

ranges from about 2000 B.C. to 700 B.C. It has been transmitted to the Western world but recently and, indeed, is by no means yet thoroughly understood. The importance of these books and of other ancient literary treasures of the Oriental nations can scarcely be overestimated.

"To watch in the Sacred Books of the East," says Max Muller in his introduction to 'The Upanishads,' in a prefatory article which is indeed an introduction to that great series of translations grouped under the title 'Sacred Books of the East,' "to watch in these books the dawn of the religious consciousness in man must always remain one of the most inspiring and hallowing sights in the whole history of the world; and he whose heart cannot quiver with the first quivering rays of human thought and human faith as revealed in these ancient documents is, in his own way, as unfit for these studies as, from another side, is the man who shrinks from copying and collating ancient manuscripts or toiling through volumes of tedious commentary."

Altho it must be admitted that the present day cannot reread into that ancient literature the potency of spell it once possessed, it can secure a general conception of what the Vedic Literature was and the scheme of its general purport. Maurice Bloomfield, one of the most modern and profound authorities on Sanscrit, has, in his 'Religion of the Veda,' illumined certain aspects of the immense field.

"At the beginning of our knowledge of India," he says, "we are face to face with an extensive poetical literature in set meters. This is crude on the whole, even when compared with classical literature of later times. Yet it shows, along with uncouth naïveté and semi-barbarous turgidity, a good deal of beauty and elevation of thought. Vedic Literature includes hymns, prayers and sacred formularies offered by priests to the gods in behalf of rich lay sacrificers; charms for witchcraft, medicine and other homely practices, manipulated by magicians and medicine-men, in the main for plainer people. From a later time come ex-

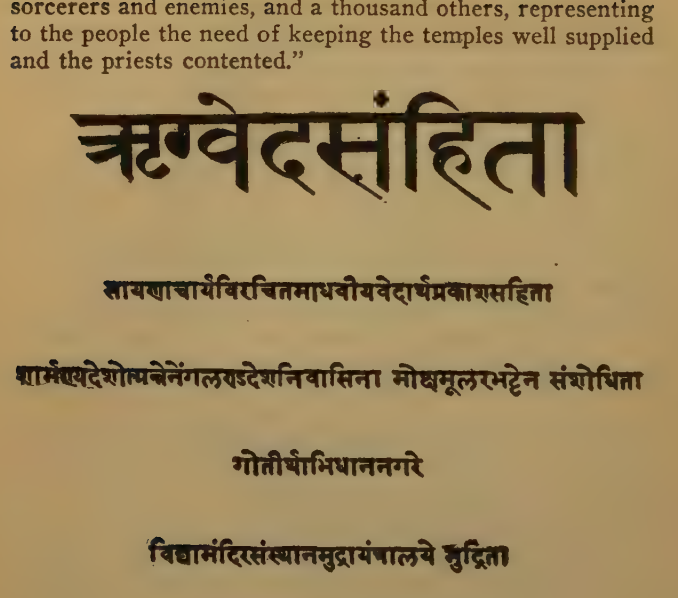
positions of the sacrifices, illustrated by legends, in the manner of the Jewish Talmud. Then speculations of a higher sort, philosophic, cosmic, psycho-physical and theosophic, gradually growing up in connection with and out of the simpler beliefs. Finally there is a considerable body of set rules for conduct in every-day secular life at home and abroad; that is, a distinct literature of customs and laws. This is the Veda as a whole.

"The Veda consists of considerably more than a hundred books, written in a variety of slightly differentiated dialects and styles. Some of the Vedic books are not yet published (1908) or even unearthed. At the base of this entire canon lie four varieties of metrical composition, or, in some cases, prayers in solemn prose. These are known as the four Vedas in the narrower sense: The Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda and the Atharva-Veda.

"The Rig-Veda is a collection of priestly hymns addressed to the gods of the Vedic Pantheon. The enduring interest of the Rig-Veda in literature lies in those old priestly poets' vision of the beauty, the majesty, the power of the gods and in the myths and legends told of them. Its mythology, on one side at least, is primitive in conception and constructive under our very eyes. How a personal god developed by personification out of a visible fact in Nature, no literary document teaches as well as the Rig-Veda.

"The Yajur-Veda represents the exceeding growth that began to cumber the simpler ceremonial of the Rig-Veda and it details an interminable ceremonial full of symbolic meaning down to its smallest minutiæ. The Sama-Veda is unimportant and is only of interest as revealing the manner in which the earlier Vedic utterances were changed and modified to suit the use of musical instruments in the constantly increasing complexity of worship. The Atharva-Veda consists almost entirely of popular charms, for health, for prosperity, for victories, to keep peace, to win love, to secure revenge, conjurations against demons,

sorcerers and enemies, and a thousand others, representing to the people the need of keeping the temples well supplied and the priests contented."


ऋग्वेदसंहिता

सायणाचार्यविरचितमाधवीयवेदार्थप्रकाशसहिता

शार्ङ्गपाणिदेशोत्पन्नेनंगलगण्डदेशनिवासिना मोक्षमूलरभट्टेन संशोधिता

गोतीर्थाभिधाननगरे

विद्यामंदिरसंस्थानमुद्रायंत्रालये मुद्रिता

संवत् १९४७ वर्षे

॥ प्रथमं मंडलं ॥

Fig. 17 —Title Page of Rig-Veda, in Sanscrit.

As an addenda to these appear the Brahmanas, an exegesis of certain parts of the Veda proper, which in the main are bulky prose statements and explications of the greater and the lesser sacrifices and defining their theologi-

cal meaning. They are important because they are written in a connected prose, being probably the first prose of the world, because they are an inexhaustible mine for the history of the priesthood and because they are a storehouse of the myths and stories India has cherished from the beginning of time.

At the end of the Brahmanas comes a class of texts known as the Aranyakas, the transitional scriptures of the first forest hermits, who saw the symbol in the sacrifice, the reason in the ritual and prepared the way for the great Upanishads. These latter, which have become fateful for all subsequent higher Hindu thought, consist of contemplative meditations setting forth the philosophy and theosophy which was characteristic of the later literature.

In order to show the gradual development of conception between these three stages, the ancient Rig-Veda, the later Brahmanas and the comparatively recent Upanishads, the following examples are given. It will be noted that the form of the first is a hymn, of the second a legend and of the third a philosophy in the form of a parable.

From a hymn to the dawn in the Rig-Veda, I, 113:

"The sisters' pathway is the same unending,
Taught by the gods, alternately they tread it;
Fair shapes, of different forms, and yet one-minded,
Night and Morning clash not nor yet do linger."

From the Brahmana, Maitrayani Sanhita, 10-13:

"The mountains are the eldest children of Prajapati (the Creator). They were winged (birds). They kept flying forth and settling where they liked. At that time the earth was unstable. Indra (God) cut off their wings. By means of the mountains he made firm the earth. The wings became clouds. Therefore these clouds ever hover about the mountains. For this is their place of origin."

From the Khandogya-Upanishad, VIII, 7-12 (abbreviated):

"Indra and Virokana approached Pragapati and dwelt there as pupils thirty-two years. Then Pragapati asked them: 'For what purpose have you dwelt here?'

"They replied: 'A saying of yours is being repeated —the Self which is free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, which desires nothing but what it ought to desire and imagines naught but what it ought to imagine, that it is which we must search out, that it is which we must try to understand. He who has searched out that Self, and understands it, obtains all worlds and all desires. Now we have both dwelt here because we wish for that Self.'

"Pragapati said to them: 'He who moves about happy in dreams he is the Self.'

"But Indra saw this difficulty. Altho it is true that Self is not blind, yet it is as if they struck him (the Self) in dreams, as if they chased him. He becomes even conscious, as it were, of pain and sheds tears. He came again as a pupil to Pragapati.

"He lived with him two more periods of thirty-two years and then Pragapati said: 'When a man being asleep, reposing and in perfect rest sees no dreams, that is the Self.'

"But Indra saw this difficulty. In truth he thus does not know his Self, that he is I, nor does he know anything that exists. He is gone to utter annihilation. He came again as a pupil to Pragapati.

"He lived with him another five years and then Pragapati said: 'The body is mortal and always held by death. It is the abode of that Self which is immortal and without body. When in the body, the Self is held by pleasure and pain. But when he is free of the body (that is, when he knows himself different from the body) then neither pleasure nor pain touches him. Thus does that serene being, arising from this body,

appear in its own form as soon as it has approached the highest light (the knowledge of Self). He, in that state, is the Highest Person. He moves about there, never minding that body into which he was born. He who behaves thus all his life reaches the world of Brahman and does not return, yea, he does not return.'"

The reader will note immediately the change, not only in phraseology but, in what is more important still, the name of the God of Gods. In the Vedas proper it is Indra, in the later Upanishads it is Brahman. Indra, in the true Vedic age, was a personification of one of the powers of Nature, but Brahm, or Brahma, is described in the Laws of Menu as being "an eternal, unchangeable, absolute being, the soul of all beings, who, having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, created the waters and placed in them a productive seed."

"But Brahmanism," says John Lord in his 'Beacon Lights of History,' "became corrupted. Like the Mosaic Law, under the sedulous care of the sacerdotal orders, it ripened into a most burdensome ritualism. The Brahmanical caste became tyrannical, exacting and oppressive. With the supposed sacredness of his person and with the laws made in his favor, the Brahman became intolerable to the people."

An introspective philosophy of great subtlety proved the curse of the Brahmans. Finding themselves unable to teach the people their metaphysical abstractions, they multiplied their sacrifices and sacerdotal rites and even permitted a complicated polytheism. Siva and Vishnu became worshipped, as well as Brahma and a host of other gods unknown to the earlier Vedas.

Intimately connected with the ceremonies of the Vedas is the Code of Menu, which in its present form dates back to about the fifth century B.C. Some parts of it were doubtless current at a considerably earlier date, as the gods mentioned are principally Vedic. Originally it

merely represented certain rules and precepts, probably by different authors, which were observed by a particular tribe or school of Brahmans called Menavas. Ultimately, however, the code was accepted by the Hindu people generally, and it plainly reveals the strenuous rules by which the Brahmans sought to perpetuate an organized system of caste which should definitely define and maintain their own superiority.

Under these circumstances Buddhism arose as a protest against Brahmanism. It was effected by a prince who goes by the name of Buddha (the Enlightened), but whose true name was Gautama Siddartha. The word Gautama was borrowed by the Sakyas after their settlement in India from one of the ancient Vedic bard families. The foundation of present-day knowledge of Sakya Buddha is from a life of him by Asvaghosha, in the first century of the modern era, but this is simply a rewritten form of an earlier history. The commentaries of Buddhaghosa, two or three centuries later, form the basis of the teachings of later Buddhism.

"At first sight," says John Caird in his 'Religions of India,' "no religious event in the history of mankind seems more unaccountable than the rapid, widely extended and enduring success of the religion which owes its origin to Gautama. Promulgated at first by a solitary teacher in a country in which Brahmanism had for more than a thousand years dominated the thoughts and lives of men, it succeeded in a short time in overthrowing the ancient faith and in transforming the social life of India. Its conquests have been greater, more extended and more lasting than those of any other religion, and even now, twenty-four centuries from the birth of its founder, Buddhism is, nominally at least, the religion of five hundred millions of the human race."

This success, no doubt, was largely due to the firm monastic system which was built up by Gautama. He not only preached a faith, but created the greatest order of

mendicant monks in the world to carry it on. First issued by Prince Gautama (557-477 B.C.), Buddhism spread steadily and with but little change until the time of the conversion of the great monarch Asoka (259 B.C.), when it was, in a sense, made the state religion. It was during the reign of Asoka at a council known as the Council of Palalysutra (242 B.C.) that the canon of the Buddhist

Fig. 18 —Modern Hinduism. Krishna Borne on Elephant Composed of Feminine Devotees.

Scriptures was settled, including the Vinaya-Pitaka, the Sutta-Pitaka and the Abhidhamma-Pitaka. The Book of the Great Decease or the Maha-Parinibbana Sutta, is one of the oldest of the books, dating from not more than one hundred years after the death of Gautama, and it is of special interest as showing the nature and the principles of the order that was founded to carry Buddhism all over the world.

Among the later forms of Hindu sacred literature are the Puranas, which present a comparatively modern field for investigation. They are eighteen in number, besides several smaller productions of a similar kind called Upa or Minor Puranas.

Their purpose seems to be to check the growth of Buddhism by stimulating the worship of Vishnu and Siva. They are acknowledged by all scholars to be the most modern of the Sacred Books, the oldest dating from the period of the Koran and the later books being as recent as the sixteenth century. The mythology of the Puranas is much more developed than that of the Maha-bharata, in which Vishnu and Siva are apparently regarded merely as great heroes. In medieval times there was much sectarian feeling between the worshipers of Brahma, Krishna, Vishnu and Siva, each sect being jealous of its favorite system and devoted to its favorite god. Hence the Puranas, which were compiled about this time, were each of them devoted to the exaltation of the particular deity who happened to be the favorite of the compiler. In modern times Silva is the most popular object of worship with Brahmans, while Krishna is the favorite god of the lower classes. It is this idea which has contributed so much to the loss of the high ideals of religion so apparent to students of life in Modern Hindustan.

CHAPTER IV

SACRED BOOKS IN HISTORIC TIMES

MEANWHILE, branching out from the parent stock about the time of the first Vedic hymns, the Iranians developed a nation and a language of their own. Handed down from the Chaldean astrologers, influenced by those forces which are found in the Vedic hymns and changed by the Median magi who became the holders of the tradition, the Iranian concept found its unifier in Zarathustra or Zoroaster, as he is more generally known. The date of his birth is largely conjectural, but it seems probable that he lived a century or two before Gautama. The religion thus centralized by Zoroaster became one of the greatest and certainly the finest until Christian thought appeared. But of it little remains.

In the Asian East, in the southeastern inaccessible Persian mountains, live remnants of that ancient, mighty people, holding this great creed in the tenacity of the remembrance of their proud past, the few remaining followers of that great religion which reigned over Persia before its conquest by the Mohammedans. This people is known as the Parsees (Parsis). "As the Parsees are the ruins of a people," points out James Darmestetter in the introduction to his translation of 'The Zend-Avesta,' "so are their sacred books the ruins of a religion. There has been no other great belief in the world that ever left such poor and meager monuments of its past splendor."

Like to the excavation of ruins, however, is the story

of the recovery, or rather the discovery, of the Avesta. The credit for this is due to a young Frenchman, Anquetil du Perron, who, in 1754, chanced to see in the Bodleian Library at Oxford a few pages in the Pahlavi character and who sacrificed everything to give this ancient language and this unknown literature to the world. Unfortunately, however, Du Perron was as egotistic and volatile as he was courageous and determined, and when he came to give his labors to the public he interlarded his work with copious references to himself, to his adventures and—alas for him—sarcastic comments on the ignorance and blindness of the English, who had done nothing to further progress in this regard. He was bitterly opposed by Sir William Jones, afterward the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, who declared that the entire matter was a forgery and held up Du Perron to the obloquy of the learned world.

The controversy between Jones and Du Perron raged throughout the lifetime of the latter, tho, toward the last, the English scholar was compelled to admit that his assertion of deliberate forgery had been in error. Yet nothing more definite was known about the Avesta until Le Page Renouf, in his studies of Sanskrit, traced an affinity to the language of the Zoroastrian books, and interpreting them from this aspect, secured an authoritative translation. Soon after the ancient Persian inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun were deciphered, revealing the existence at the time of the first Achemenian kings of a language closely connected with the early Pahlavi texts, and the last doubts as to the authenticity of the Avesta were removed.

The Zend-Avesta, as it is generally called (tho it is really the Avesta—the books, and the Zend—the commentary), is divided in its usual form into two parts. The first part, or Avesta properly so called, contains the Vendidad, the Visperad and the Yasna. The Vendidad is a compilation of religious laws and of mythical tales, the

Visperad is a collection of litanies for the sacrifice and the Yasna is composed of litanies of the same order and of five hymns or Gathas written in a special dialect older than the general language of the Avesta. The second part, generally known as the Khorda-Avesta, or Small Avesta, is composed of short prayers, which are recited not only by the priests but by all the faithful at certain moments of the day, month or year and in presence of the different elements; these prayers are the five Gah, the thirty formulas of the Sirozah, the three Afrigan and the six Nyayis. But

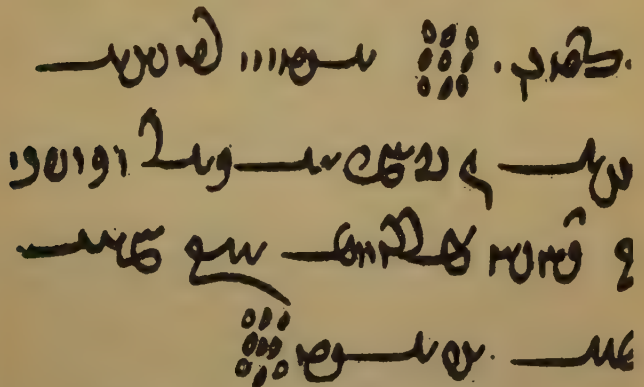


Fig. 19 —Verse of Avesta in Pahlavi.

it is also usual to include in the Khorda-Avesta, altho forming no real part of it, the Yasts or hymns or praise and glorification to the several Izads and a number of fragments, the most important of which is the Hadhakht Nosk.

The loftiness of the aspirations of this creed does not appear so strongly in the later developments, but is found in its purest form in the earlier portion of the work, especially in the five Gathas, which, as has been said, are so markedly of a more ancient character than their dialect is even distinctly different. "In these Gathas," says A. V.

Williams Jackson, perhaps the most interpretative authority the Avesta yet has produced, "we see before our eyes the prophet of the new faith speaking with the fervor of the Psalmist of the Bible. In them we feel the thrill of ardor that characterizes a new and struggling religious band; we are warmed by the burning zeal of the preacher of a church militant. The end of the world cannot be far away; the final overthrow of Anra-Mainyu (Ahriman the Evil One) by Ahura-Mazda (Ormuzd, the Holy Spirit) is assured; the establishment of a new order of things is certain; at the founding of this 'kingdom' the resurrection of the dead will take place and the life eternal will be entered upon."

One of the earliest of the Gathas is the Gatha Ustavaiti, and the following phrases of prayer from Yasna, xliv, show the nature of the books. The following are merely the first seven of a long invocation, first for knowledge as to the world itself, and, secondly, for information as to the best mode of spreading right and confuting wrong:

> "This I ask Thee, O Ahura (God)! Tell me aright; when praise is to be offered, how shall I complete the praise of One like You, O Mazda (Lord)?
>
> "This I ask Thee, O Ahura! Tell me aright; how, in pleasing Him, may we serve the Supreme One of the better world?
>
> "This I ask Thee, O Ahura! Tell me aright; who gave the sun and stars their way? Who established that whereby the moon waxes and whereby she wanes save Thee? Who, as thus skilful, hath made sleep and the zest of waking hours?
>
> "This I ask Thee, O Ahura! Who hath fashioned Aramaiti, the Beloved One?"

It is especially observable that while the Parsees of the present day are largely known as fire-worshipers, in the earlier portion of the Avestas, fire, while sacred, takes no such place as it does in the later Pahlavi texts. The Avesta, as has been said, was not written by Persians for

Persians, but by Median magi for the use of the priestly body. Pahlavi is the medieval language of Persia. But the Persians had been in contact with many surrounding nations, and consequently not only their language but their ideas were of a heterogeneous character. It is this which has made the chiefest Pahlavi work, the Bundahis, a document of such transcendent interest.

The work in question is probably a free translation and commentary (the whole intermingled) of a book called Damdad Nask, belonging to the Avesta, which is lost, and it is of value as having been the storehouse whence many of the ancient philosopohers found support for their theories. "The term Bundahis ('creation of the beginning')," says E. W. West in his translation 'Pahlavi Texts,' "is applied by the Parsees to a Pahlavi work which, in its present state, appears to be a collection of fragments relating to the cosmogony, mythology and legendary history taught by the Mazdayasnian tradition, but which cannot be considered, in any way, a complete treatise upon these subjects.

"The work commences by describing the state of things in the beginning, the good spirit being in endless light and omniscient and the evil spirit in endless darkness and with limited knowledge. Both produced their own creatures, which remained apart in a spiritual or ideal state for 3,000 years, after which the evil spirit began his opposition to the good creation under an agreement that his power was not to last more than 9,000 years, of which only the middle 3,000 were to see him successful."

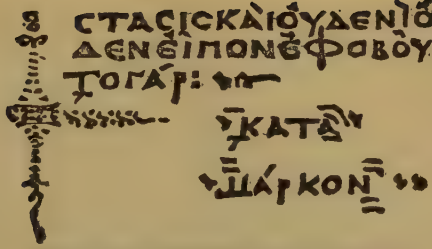
Thus, at the beginning of the Christian era, many diverse religions and philosophies were abroad, but all of them debased from their original purity. The finest of them all, Zoroastrianism, based upon the teaching of the Avesta, had degenerated through the Pahlavi texts and had suffered in the Macedonian conquest. The religions of China, with the rationalism of Taoism, the moral precepts and rules of life of Confucianism and the ceremonial observances of Chi-

nese Buddhism, touched but little upon the Western world and they contained no life in themselves to set up a rivalry.

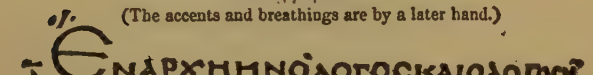
The Greek theogony also had become debased through familiarity. Anthropomorphic legends and myths had gone far to unify men with gods and gods with men. At the beginning of the Christian era Zeus or Jupiter was but a name, Athene or Minerva a poetic conception, Demeter or Ceres a holiday goddess of the early loved but not revered type of the modern Santa Claus. Iranian subtlety, Hebraic religion and Hellenic philosophy were all familiar, but were regarded as systems of thought, not religions.

The utter dearth of Sacred Literature in the Roman Empire formed a most marvelous setting for the shining forth of that finest of all religious writings, the New Testament. Like the Old Testament, it is in no sense the work of one writer, but rather is a selected group of writings from a mass of manuscripts which had arisen in the first three centuries of the Christian era. Just as the authority of the Old Testament rests upon the men who in Ezra's time decided what was to be allowed a place in the Old Testament canon, so a Church council in 398 A.D. decided which gospel was to be admitted and what one thrown out, or whether a certain epistle was to be deemed genuine or spurious. But the decisions of this council were not so much with regard to the value of the documents considered as to their authenticity, a subject on which they would be well adapted to judge.

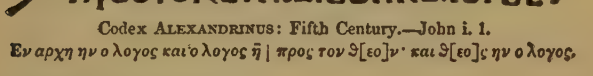
The New Testament is divided into four parts, the Synoptic Gospels, those of St. Matthew, St. Luke and St. Mark, which give a synopsis of the life of Jesus of Nazareth, the writings ascribed to St. John including the Gospel, the Epistles and the Apocalypse; the Epistles written by St. Paul (which usually include the Epistle to the Hebrews, tho this probably was written by Apollos) and the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter and St. Jude. Each of these writers possesses a marked individuality, their



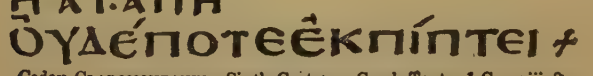
Codex VATICANUS: Fourth Century.—Mark xvi. 8.
στασις και ουδενι ου | δεν ειπον εφοβουν | το γαρ: κατα | μαρκον.
(The accents and breathings are by a later hand.)



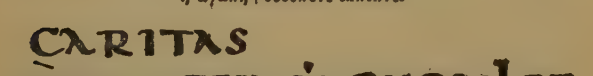
Codex ALEXANDRINUS: Fifth Century.—John i. 1.
Εν αρχη ην ο λογος και ὁ λογος ῆ | προς τον Θ[εο]ν· και Θ[εο]ς ην ο λογος.



Codex CLAROMONTANUS: Sixth Century; Greek Text.—1 Cor. xiii. 8.
ἡ ἀγάπη | ουδέποτε ἐκπίπτει



Codex CLAROMONTANUS: Sixth Century; Latin Text.—1 Cor. xiii. 8.
caritas | numquam excidet



Codex LAUDIANUS: Sixth Century; Greek Text.—Acts xx. 28.
την εκκλησιαν | του κ[υριο]υ

Fig. 20 —MOST ANCIENT MSS. OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

style varies and even the language in which they wrote is different, for the Gospel of St. Matthew evidently was written originally in a Hebrew dialect (approximating Aramaic), St. Luke is Hellenistic Greek and the writings of St. John are Hebraic Greek. These differences do not appear to any great extent in the authorized version, for the reason that the English therein, being a trifle archaic to a modern ear, stamps its own peculiarity upon its utterances rather than reveals the distinctions of the original authors.

Certain marked peculiarities stand out which may be commented on. Thus the Gospel of St. Matthew, written in the Aramaic vernacular commonly spoken in Palestine, was addressed to the Jews. Therefore the incidents of Christ's life are not related chronologically but in such wise as to show forth more strongly the fulfilment of ancient Jewish prophecies for the Messiah. It is a Jewish appeal to Jews. The Gospel according to St. Mark is a biography, pure and simple. It was probably the first written of the Gospels and, in generally accepted opinion, formed a basis for the writing of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The Gospel according to St. Luke is a Gospel to the Gentiles or non-Jews. It is written to display the human side of the life of Jesus of Nazareth, and therefore it is in St. Luke that the narrative of the Childhood is found. The author was a physician and seems to have been a personal friend of Mary the Mother of Jesus.

Far other is the Gospel according to St. John. It is not a synoptic gospel, does not aim to give the incidents of a Life as such, but rather mentions incidents to illumine some doctrinal or ethical point. It is obviously a supplemental gospel and implies a knowledge among its readers of a previous gospel, either oral or written. Its objective is the portrayal of the divine side of the Christ, as its great philosophic introduction in the first chapter witnesses. The Revelation of St. John, different in many ways, still possesses primarily this purposed elucidation of

the divinity of Christ. It is no idle metaphor to say that battle has raged around this book, and this is the last place to enter the lists either for or against the higher criticism.

The Epistles, both Pauline and extra-Pauline, reveal upon the surface their origin and their purpose. They are letters written by the founder or the erstwhile teacher of a church, to the congregation from which he has been sundered. They are hortatory and advisory, dealing with all manner of subjects, from interpretations of difficult passages in the Gospels to minute directions as to how to behave in church. But, taken as a whole, it can be stated without fear of contradiction, that the Old Testament and the New Testament together stand in a position of unchallenged supremacy for loftiness of thought and chastity of diction among the Sacred Books of the world.

What may be deemed perhaps as characteristic an utterance as can be found in the New Testament is that of the Beatitudes, in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. The passage is as follows:

> "And, seeing the multitudes, He (Jesus) went up into a mountain: and when He was set, His disciples came unto Him.
>
> "And He opened His mouth and taught them, saying:
>
> "'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.
>
> "'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.
>
> "'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.
>
> "'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.
>
> "'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.
>
> "'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

"'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.

"'Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

"'Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for My sake.

"'Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets who were before you.'"

That any Sacred Book should be written in an attempt to improve upon the sayings of the Founder of Christianity seems surprising to-day, and the Koran was regarded in the Middle Ages as a most blasphemous volume. But it must never be forgotten that the Koran was not intended as a sequence to the New Testiment, it was not so written, but began as the sayings of a true and earnest religious reformer who was afire with zeal to put to an end the gross idolatries of his countrymen.

The old religion of the Arabs was Sabeanism, or the worship of the hosts of heaven, Seth and Enoch being considered as prophets of the faith, but this comparatively simple star worship had been greatly corrupted, and a number of fresh deities, superstitious practices and meaningless rites had been introduced. "The Arab," says E. H. Palmer in his translation of the Qur-An (Koran), "peopled the vast solitudes amidst which he dwelt with supernatural beings, and fancied that every rock and tree and cavern had its ginn or presiding genius."

The degrading polytheism of the Arabs in the sixth century of the Christian era, the multitude of their idols, the grossness of their worship and the degrading morals which usually accompany a false theology called for the reformer and the latter was found in Mohammed. The great Arabian prophet was born in 570 A.D. in Mecca, a member of the tribe to whom was entrusted the keeping of

the worshipped Black Stone, reputed to have fallen from heaven at the same time as Adam. Mohammed therefore belonged to the highest Arabian aristocracy, but was afflicted with ill health. His ecstasies and his visions, often of the most fantastic character, were largely influenced by his weak condition, and while, as a subject to epilepsy, he fell into fits and trances his followers deemed divine, the morbid state influenced his teaching.

But he burned to tell his countrymen of their false idolatry and to lead them to the worship of a purer faith, and one day, in his fortieth year, after he had spent a month in solitude, he convinced himself that he had seen a vision of the Angel Gabriel, who declared to him that he was a chosen prophet of Allah, the one and only God, and that the burden of leading his country on to the right paths devolved upon him. For nearly fourteen years he preached the gospel of faith, of purity of morals and of obedience to a high mental discipline, his only success in all those years being the conversion of thirteen people, most of them relatives and of the rest one, a slave. He became deeply hated by the people of Mecca and at last fled to Medina. This was the Hegira, 622 A.D., the year from which the Mohammedans date the present era. It is the year one of the East.

Arrived at Medina, Mohammed changed his tactics. He gave forth (in his own words) that "different prophets have been sent by God to illustrate His different attributes: Moses His providence, Solomon His wisdom, Christ His righteousness, but I, the last of the prophets, am sent with the sword. Let those who promulgate my faith enter into no arguments or discussions, but slay all who refuse obedience. Whoever fights for the true faith, whether he fall or conquer, will assuredly receive a glorious reward, for the sword is the key of heaven. All who draw it for the defence of the faith shall receive temporal and future blessings. Every drop of their blood, every peril and hardship will be registered on high as more meri-

torious than fasting or prayer. If they fall in battle their sins shall be washed away and they shall be transported to Paradise to revel in eternal pleasures and in the arms of black-eyed houris."

He had struck the keynote. The impulsive emotionalism of the Arabs leaped in response to the cry of a "holy war," and the sterner their leader grew, the more he demanded conquest, the more obedient they became. When, on one occasion, he ordered them to a campaign in the extreme of summer and a captain protested, "It is hot," he vouchsafed no other answer than "Hell is hotter." Success hung over his troops at every onset until they believed themselves invincible, and so believing, overran all the contiguous country.

In the strictest sense of the word the Japanese have no Sacred Books. Buddhism and Confucianism have millions of followers, but the books of those faiths are but adaptations of the Upanishads and the King. Shintoism, the only purely Japanese cult, and which has its origin among the Aryan aborigines known as the Ainos, possesses nothing but the Norito and the Kojiki. The Norito are rituals of worship, merely disconnected and fragmentary services. A few of them show a certain rough grace.

But the religious observances prior to the introduction of Buddhism were of a very trifling character. "There was not even a shadowy idea of any code of morals," says Basil H. Chamberlain in "Things Japanese," "or any systematization of the simple notions of the people concerning things unseen. There was neither heaven nor hell, only a kind of neutral-tinted Hades. Some of the gods were good, some were bad, nor was the line between man and gods at all clearly drawn."

Against a fully formed and ornate Buddhism, strong in its own strength, with ceremonial, priestly systems and a gorgeous ceremonial, Shintoism had no chance to compete. In order to gain a good foothold, the Buddhist missionaries showed themselves interested in Shintoism, added the

Shinto gods to the Japanese Buddhist Pantheon, carefully collected the Shinto legends and wove them into a book which is neither Shinto nor Buddhist, neither Japanese nor Chinese, but a fearful commixture of all of these, called the Kojiki, or Records of Great Matters. It was completed 712 A.D. "The Kojiki," comments W. G. Aston in his "History of Japanese Literature," "is a very poor production, whether we consider it as literature or as a record of facts. The language is a curious mixture of Chinese and Japanese, which there has been little attempt to endue with artistic quality."

No Sacred Books have been given to the world since that date. Hundreds of thousands of commentaries, of exegeses, of translations and comparative versions have been made; a vast apologetic literature hangs as a fog over them, but new Sacred Books there are none. Each century has seen, of course, some religious sect arising. Full many of these claim divine revelations, affirm that angels have foregathered with their founders and that a peculiar holiness attaches to their writings, but Sacred Books of the character of the Vedas, the Avestas, the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures and the Koran the modern ages have seen none. Whether the last "revelation" has been made, whether the silence is due to the abolition of superstition by accessible education, or whether a succeeding age will witness the rise and growth of some great faith and greater sacred literature is a question to which Time holds the only possible reply.

CHAPTER V

THE CLASSIC EPICS

Epic poetry is a phrase much changed from its older usages. Formerly a definition of some rigidity, it has now been extended to embrace such diverse elements as the battle-songs of Homer and the romances of Tasso, the folk-lore of the Kalevala and the polish of Ariosto, the floridity of the Ramayana and the austere somberness of Dante and Milton. Indeed, in common usage the epic has come to mean little more than a poem of considerable length, of definite unity of purpose, of loftiness of theme and of excellence of diction.

It is undoubted, therefore, that every literature that is worthy the name will contain such epics, and it is relevant to treat these great epics as developments of that literature and characteristic phases therein. Thus, in English literature, it is no injustice to treat Beowulf, Layamon, Chaucer, Spenser, Milton and Tennyson by their epics as the great figures in the development of English letters, rather than Sidney, Herrick, Suckling, Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats. The Sacred Books have carried the gradual development in the conception of man from his first written language to the ripeness of the New Testament as revealing his thoughts, worthy of transmission to posterity; the development of the epic will trace his conception of the values of secular thought and literary style.

Aristotle truly, in the fragmentary discussion of the epic which he left in his 'Poetics,' defined it as "that

poetic imitation which is narrative in form and employs a single meter." He declared that "it should have for its object a single action, whole and complete, with a beginning, a middle and an end"; that "the beginning and the end must be capable of being brought within a single view"; that "the characters presented should be of a lofty type and consistently presented"; that "in the development both of the plots and of the characters the poem should present permanent truths rather than actual realities," and that "the subject matter should deal with probable impossibilities rather than probable possibilities."

"These statements," comments Irene T. Myers in 'A Study of Epic Development,' "are for the most part broad in application. Aristotle recognizes a difference between Nature's actual product and the ideal for which she strives; he believes that the ideal while frequently transcending the natural, is but the conception of Nature's intention, and that, as an expression of the real truth of things, it constitutes the material with which the poet should deal."

It has of late become the literary custom to speak of all the Hindu literature as being immeasurably more ancient than Semitic or Ionic; much in the same manner as a preceding generation accorded such veneration to the Chinese. But Confucius is not as old as the Israelitish monarch Solomon, and both Homer and Hesiod probably are his predecessors. The same is true of the Osirid hymns of ancient Egypt; their compilation is later than the Homeric period. So also, while the Mahabharata and the Ramayana of Hindu literature are of ancient date, there seems no adequate reason for withholding from Homer that position of priority he so long has held, and the great collection of the "blind poet of Chios" therefore will come first in point of treatment among the great epics of the world.

Homer is but little less mythical than the persons whereof he writes in the Trojan War. It is certain that he was rather the compiler than the author of the Iliad

and the Odyssey, for he seems to have come rather at the end than at the beginning of a poetical epoch. Two causes have perpetuated the belief that Homer's home was in the island of Chios, one that a later so-called "Homeric hymn" speaks of its author as having been a blind old man living in Chios, the other that the Homeridæ, who claimed to be the descendants of Homer, lived in Chios. It is to be remembered that the Homeric poetry, strictly speaking, is not Greek at all, but Asian. The Iliad and the Odyssey had their first origin on the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, and Athens is only mentioned casually as a small but "well-built town."

The Iliad is so-called because it is the Poem of Ilion, or Troy, a city of Mysia, in the northwest of Asia Minor. It relates many of the events connected with the siege and capture of that city, but only touches on a small portion of the group of legends which had arisen about that war. It is enlarged and remodeled, evidently by several hands, from a shorter poem, which must have been extremely ancient, on the "Wrath of Achilles." This was probably little more than a lay or war song and was used as the central basis around which the rest of the Iliad was gathered. The siege lasted ten years, but the Iliad tells merely the events of a few days during the last year.

The cause of the war was the seizure of Helen, wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta, by Paris (also called Alexander), son of Priam, King of Troy. Helen was known as the fairest woman of the time, and it is a curious evidence of the barbarity of the times that during her youth, when she was wooed by a number of suitors, all of whom were kings and princes of neighboring tribes, her father bound these suitors with an oath to join in assisting her future husband, whoever he might be, should she be taken from him by force by a disappointed suitor. When, therefore, Paris forcibly captured her after her marriage to Menelaus, Agamemnon, King of Mycenae (the Myceneans were the strongest of all the tribes and were the progenitors of

the Greeks), called together these aforetime suitors from Asia, Greece and all the isles and sailed with many ships to besiege Troy, to recapture Helen and avenge King Menelaus of Sparta.

It was a long siege, for the reason that within their walls the Trojans seemed invulnerable, and they did not dare to come out to fight a pitched battle against the Greek (or Mycenean) army because of Achilles, a warrior so terrible that none of the Trojans could face him, not even Hector, the greatest of the besieged people. During the war Achilles took to his tent a captive damsel, Briseis, and this girl King Agamemnon claimed from him in place of his own captive, whom the oracles had ordered to be returned. Achilles, angered in the highest degree, but scorning to take arms against the leader of his host and thereby foment civil warfare, withdrew from the army.

At this point the Iliad begins: "Sing, goddess, the wrath of Achilles." Its action is complicated by the constant interposition, now on one side, now on the other, of the gods and goddesses. In consequence the fate of battle changed ever, and even on Olympus the gods watched breathlessly; but with Achilles away, disaster hovered nearer and nearer the army of the Greeks. But, tho he knew of their losses, Achilles, angered at King Agamemnon, remained in his tent. At last his friend Patroclus, fearing that final ruin would come upon the army, besought Achilles at least to allow him to wear the famous armor, saying that the sight of it alone would strike such terror into the hearts of the Trojans that victory might return to the Greek side.

In Achilles' armor Patroclus performed prodigies of valor, but at last he found himself confronting Hector, and this greatest of the Trojans, more than a match for any save Achilles, slew Patroclus. The news of the death of Patroclus roused Achilles from his moodiness. Calling upon his mother, Thetis, one of the goddesses of the sea, to aid him, he secured a wonderful suit of armor from

Fig. 21 —The Combat Over the Body of Patroclus. From the Iliad.

Vulcan, the god of the forge and patron of armorers, in place of the armor which had become the prize of Hector by the death of Patroclus.

In this armor Achilles rushed to the field alone, the Greeks following him in a confused but eager mass. Before his onrush the Trojans fell back, broke into flight and retreated helter-skelter to the gates of Troy, losing a man at every step through the vengeance of Achilles. Alone the hero would have followed into the town and stormed the citadel, but Apollo, taking the form of a warrior, engaged him in combat, then fled, drawing away Achilles long enough for the Trojans to shut the gates. Hector, who felt that he had ordered the advance to the fatal field, stood without the gate to resist Achilles.

But when he saw the form of Achilles thundering down upon him, the heart of Hector forsook him and he fled, the Greek champion pursuing. At last, in order to give him courage, Athene appeared in the form of his brother Deiphobus, and seeing that they were two to one, Hector thought there might be a chance of resistance against Achilles. But as soon as the combat was joined Athene disappeared, leaving the battle to Hector. The issue was not long doubtful and Hector fell.

With more barbarity than would have been expected in a mighty warrior, Achilles scorned Hector's dying plea that his body should have due burial and exulted over his fallen foe by telling him of the disgrace that awaited his corpse. Then fastening the body to his chariot wheels, he dragged it back and forth before the gates of Troy. At last the aged Priam, King of Troy, humbling himself, went to Achilles' tent to beg the body of his son. The Iliad closes with a recital of the funeral ceremonies of the Trojans over the mighty Hector.

The second great Homeric epic, the Odyssey, does not take up the story where the Iliad left off, but deals entirely with the wanderings of Odysseus, or Ulysses as he is

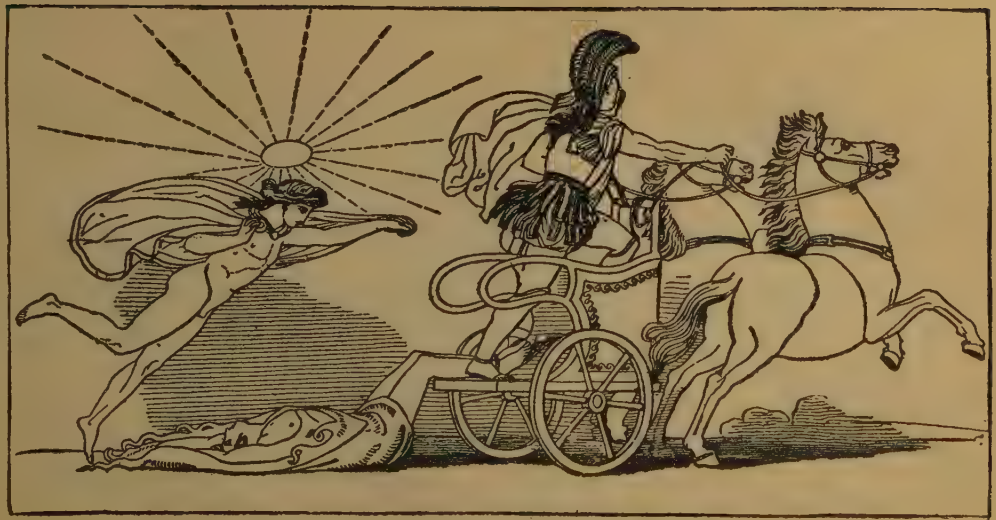


Fig. 22 —Hector's Body Dragged by Achilles. From the Iliad.

better known, and of the adventures he sustained on his voyage home from Troy, caused by his having offended Poseidon (Neptune), the god of the sea. When the Odyssey begins, ten years have elapsed since the surrender of Troy (the story of which is told in the Æneid, to be dealt with later), seven years of which Ulysses has spent on an island with a nymph Calypso, who loves him and has detained him there against his will. In the meantime his faithful wife, Penelope, altho besieged by a ravening host of suitors who quartered themselves upon her, wasting her sustenance, has refused all proffers, and when at last they become urgent, she promised to choose a second husband so soon as she should have finished weaving a certain shroud. But as she unraveled at night what she had woven by day, the web was long in finishing.

Observant of this loyalty, Zeus (Jupiter, chief of the gods) sent his messenger Hermes (Mercury) to Calypso to order her to let Ulysses go. The warrior escaped on a raft, but the sea god still pursuing his enmity wrecked the raft and Ulysses only reached the shore by the aid of the sea goddess Ino. He swam to the island of the Phecians, where King Alcinous entertained him, in return for which Ulysses told all his adventures, from the time of the fall of Troy until his arrival at the island of Calypso. In this recital the hero described the Cyclops and the one-eyed giant Polyphemus; the island of the enchantress Circe, who turned all his crew into swine until he compelled her to restore them to human form; the rocks where sat the sweet-voiced sirens who lure men to their deaths; the perilous passage between the hundred-headed Scylla and the whirlpool Charybdis, and how at last all his comrades perished because they had slain the sacred oxen of the Sun God.

King Alcinous, recognizing the greatness of the warrior, gave him a ship and men, and Ulysses landed on his own island of Ithaca. None recognized him, save his old nurse and Argus, the faithful dog, who creeping to his master's

side, licked his hand and died. Ulysses, helped by Athene (Minerva, goddess of wisdom), then plotted the destruction of the suitors. Under the inspiration of the goddess, Penelope, who had at last been forced to finish her web by the suitors, announced that she would wed the suitor who could shoot an arrow through a certain mark, with the bow of Eurytus, which none but Ulysses could bend.

The suitors accordingly all tried and failed, but Ulysses, disguised as an old beggar man, took the bow they handed him for trial in jest, shot the mark, and then turning on the suitors, threw off his disguise, called on his son Telemachus and slaughtered every man in the hall. He then revealed himself to his wife and resumed the kingship.

Of a widely different character, but not the less deserving of fame among the founders of great epic poetry, was Hesiod, perhaps a century later in date than Homer. He is certainly earlier than the seventh century before Christ and is usually coupled with Homer, tho it is scarcely likely that he was contemporary. He was a Boeotian shepherd, a man with an intensely practical mind, and his two great masterpieces, "Works and Days" and the "Theogony," are didactic, not imaginative.

In the "Works and Days" there are really three parts. "These," R. C. Jebb suggests in his 'Greek Literature,' "may once have been distinct. They comprise the introductory poem addressed to his brother Perses, the Works proper, and then the Days or Calendar. Hesiod and his younger brother Perses had divided the property left by their father, but Perses had got the larger share—according to the story of Hesiod—by bribing the judges, and accordingly 'lived in luxurious idleness,' while Hesiod faced poverty. Hesiod pointed out in his verse that Justice, so wronged, has taken refuge with her father, Zeus (Jupiter), who may be expected to avenge. He illustrated the injustice of the 'might is right' idea by a fable—the first in Greek literature—'the hawk and the nightingale.'

It is in this part of his work also that Hesiod described the five ages of the world—the Age of Gold, the Age of Silver, the Age of Bronze, the Age of the Heroes (apparently an afterthought so as to fit in with the Homeric conceptions) and the Age of Iron, in which the poet had the sorrow to live."

He warned the unjust brother that he was laying up disaster of a deeper character because he would not work. The need of constant attention to duty and the worth of labor were strongly presented, and the poet took the opportunity of writing in verse a practical manual on farm industry, rules for sowing, for plowing, for reaping, with the required propitiary prayers for all the various operations. Thence by a natural sequence the poem went on to deal with the right times and seasons for the doing of these things and the lucky and unlucky "days" upon which to begin them. The need for this knowledge is shown to be very great, for amid such a host of gods and goddesses as there were in the Greek Pantheon it was difficult to avoid offending some of them.

In his "Works and Days" Hesiod shows himself to be especially careful of the honor to be shown the gods, and it is therefore not surprising that his next great work should be a "Theogony." This is no more original than his agricultural rules, no more determinative than his compilation of suitable prayers, but it is of vast importance because of its attempt to gather together into a collected whole the hymns, legends, traditions and folk-lore about the gods.

The "Theogony" falls naturally into two parts, the first describing the creation of the visible world, the second relating the manner wherein the life of the gods came forth from the earth itself and how they gave birth to the demigods, the demigods to heroes and the heroes to men. Chaos, the yawning abyss, composed of Void, Mass and Darkness all in confusion, was preëxistent to all else. From this confusion came forth Gaea (Earth) and Eros

(Love), and with these two forces removed, Chaos produced Tartarus (Darkness) and Erebus (Night). Next came Uranus (Heaven), who through the influence of Eros took Gaea to wife, and these became the parents of the elder gods and of the gigantic Titans. Cronus, one of these elder gods, begot Zeus, who in turn rose against his father. Cronus was helped by the Titans, Zeus by the Cyclops, and at the last Cronus was defeated and Zeus became king of the Olympian gods and the father of heroes.

It has already been pointed out that the Iliad and the Odyssey touch on but two small sections of the Trojan siege and its after happenings, and not a few readers have been puzzled by their inability to find in these two great Homeric pieces and in the "Theogony" of Hesiod many events which have been the themes of modern poets, sculptors and artists, which themes, none the less, point back to the siege of Troy. These also belong to the group of legends and myths concerning the Trojan War, which the two great epicists left untouched, but which were worked up by the school of Cyclic poets in the period between 776 B.C. and 550 B.C. They were so called because they took the legends and wove them together in such wise as to be continuous, rearranging, where necessary, the chronology to do so.

They are enumerated by Jebb, and the most important groups are six in number. These are: (1) The Cyprian Lays, written by Stasinus of Cyprus, relating the preparations for the siege of Troy and the first nine years of the siege up to the very point where the Iliad begins. (2) The Lay of Ethiopia, by Arctinus of Miletus, telling how the Amazons or tribe of women warriors came to the help of Troy, how their queen was killed by Achilles and how Achilles was treacherously slain by Paris, whose capture of Helen had caused the Trojan War; it is so called because the Ethiopian prince Memnon is the central figure. (3) The Sack of Troy by the same author, a supplement

to the preceding. (4) The Little Iliad, by Lesches of Mitylene; this somewhat overlaps the work of Arctinus in that it continues the Iliad down to the fall of Troy, but it is devoted mainly to the exploits of Ajax and Philoctetes. (5) The Homeward Voyages, by Agias of Troezen; this gives the adventures of the various heroes in their return from Troy during the ten years which elapsed until Homer's poem begins with Ulysses on Calypso's island. (6) The Lay of Telegonus, by Eugammon of Cyrene; this told how Telegonus, the son of the enchantress Circe, born to her shortly after Ulysses' departure from the island, was sent by his mother to avenge her because Ulysses had made her free all her captives, and how at last Ulysses was slain by him in Ithaca.

It cannot be said that Virgil in his Æneid becomes a serious rival to Homer, both because it is clear that he is a copyist and because it is defaced by political flatteries. As a poem, however, it is perhaps finer in detail and infinitely more lovely in thought. The old Homeric epic is thoroly archaic, and as was noted in Achilles' barbaric triumph over the fallen Hector and the pusillanimous grudge of certain of the gods, is lacking in many of the better instincts of a later time; but Virgil is not wanting here. "In soundness of judgment," says Lord, "in tenderness of feeling, in chastened fancy, in delineation of character, in matchless beauty of diction and in splendor of versification it has never been surpassed by any poem in any language and proudly takes its place among the imperishable works of genius."

Publius Virgilius Maro (70-19 B.C.) was born near Mantua, of comparatively humble birth. His life, unlike that of the other great epic poets, was unmarked by special grief or disadvantage. He was first brought to the notice of the emperor by his skill as a veterinarian in the imperial stables, and there his multifarious learning (he studied privately assiduously) procured him the reputation of a sorcerer. On his father's death he returned to the

little farm, where Mæcenas, a Roman noble, now become his patron, and at his instance, in order to ennoble the art of husbandry which was falling into disuse, Virgil wrote the most beautiful poem in the Latin language, the 'Georgics.' They are largely modeled on Hesiod's 'Works and Days,' but are infinitely superior. The unparalleled success of the Georgics led to the Æneid.

It is at least to Virgil's credit that his purpose in the selection of this theme was of the loftiest. "Availing himself of the pride and superstition of the Roman people," says Henry Thompson in his 'History of Roman Literature,' "the poet traces the origin and establishment of the 'Eternal City' to those heroes and actions which had enough in them of what was human and ordinary to excite the sympathies of his countrymen, intermingled with persons and circumstances of an extraordinary and superhuman character to awake their awe. No subject could have been more happily chosen. It has been admired also for its perfect unity of action, for while the episodes command the richest variety of description, they are always subordinate to the main object of the poem, which is to impress the divine authority under which Æneas settled first in Italy."

Æneas was described in the Æneid as having been one of the princes of Troy who had stayed in the city almost to the end of the siege, but having been warned by the ghost of Hector in a dream, determined upon flight. He left shortly before the taking of Troy, bearing his aged father, Anchises, on his shoulder, carrying in one hand the gods of his household, while with the other he led his little son Julius (Ascanius). By this Virgil desired to depict his hero as having been loyal to his city, as having been pious to his gods and as showing filial affection and domestic devotion. His wife, Creusa, was separated from him in the course of the escape and he could not turn back to seek her.

He first landed at Thrace, where he commenced to build

a home to form the nucleus of a city to be called Ænos, but the omens were unpropitious. He sought the oracle at Delphi, and misinterpreting the cryptic response, went to Crete. Thence he was driven away by pestilence. He determined then to sail for Italy, but the passage became perilous in the extreme and on the voyage Anchises died. A storm arose, preventing his landing, and he was blown to the north shore of Africa, where he was warmly welcomed by Dido, Queen of Carthage.

The queen, knowing the noble blood that ran in the veins of her guest, and fired besides by his youth and comeliness, was found only too willing to share her throne with him, but as the wedding preparations were in progress Mercury appeared, sent by Jupiter, to warn Dido against marrying Æneas, as mighty Jove had other fate in store for him, and Dido, disappointed and her pride in arms, destroyed herself. Æneas then hastily sailed away and landed in Sicily.

Here the sailors, who had grown tired of going from place to place with no settled home, endeavored to burn the fleet. At this Æneas consulted the Sibyl at Cumae, who conducted him to the infernal regions, where he saw his father, Anchises, and the ghost told him his future fate in Italy. On his return to earth Æneas set sail, landing in Latium. Here he made an alliance with the King Latinus, married his daughter Lavinia, and built Lavinium. A rejected suitor, Turnus, king of the Rutuli, made war on Latinus and in the battle both kings were slain. With the death of Turnus the Æneid closes. Livy, later, made Æneas the king of the Latins and of the Rutuli and thence the father of the founders of Rome.

The 'Metamorphoses' of Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C.-17 A.D.), an interminable series of narratives drawn from classical mythology, are wonderfully rich in flights of fancy, and in certain places the tenderness of feeling shown is as unexpected as it is delightful. His versification is fluent, too fluent indeed, losing in force what it

gains in ease. That he was not a great epic writer was because he had no great theme to treat, no purpose to fulfil.

A truer epic is the 'Pharsalia' of Lucan, who was tortured and slain at the age of twenty-seven from a false accusation of conspiracy against Nero. The 'Pharsalia' is full of faults; indeed, no really great work exists wherein weaknesses are so numerous. Yet while its plan is artificial and its charcters are indistinct and undifferentiated, it does possess a real and splendid strength.

"Among the shades of the poetical coloring, none tends to give the 'Pharsalia' so peculiar an air as the originality of its supernatural machinery," says Wm. Spalding in his 'Italy.' "The beautifully cold mythology of Greece has here no place; the supreme powers which hover above the field of civil slaughter are the native divinities and native dead of Rome and Latium. In the beginning of the contest terrible portents in heaven and in earth affright the people; the Etruscan rites elicit no prophetic answer; a raving woman rushes through the streets of the city prophesying uncertain horrors; the ghost of Sylla rises in the field of Mars, and the last supernatural terrors which close around Pompey are summoned by the spells of a Thessalian witch, whose incantation forms one of the most strongly painted scenes in the circle of Roman poetry."

The republican Lucan was succeeded by Statius, the court poet of Domitian. His chief work, the "Thebias," an epic poem in ten books, on the story of the two sons of Œdipus, is by no means his best production, tho far the most labored. It has a want of symmetry and coherence, which, with its long-drawn diffuseness and its exaggerated monotony of horror and cruelty, makes it wearisome to read. Yet poor as the epic seems, it is the last; the Goths were knocking at the gates of Rome, as yet only as individuals, but later to come in hordes. Greece was about to become Byzantine, and Rome barbarian, and the literature of the Classic Age dwindled and sank and died.

CHAPTER VI

THE EPICS OF THE ORIENT

VERY different in character, but not less great, are the epics of the Orient. Of these two are Hindu and the third Persian. Between them is a marked difference, not only the difference between the true ancient hero-epic and the modern romance-epic, but also a wide difference in philosophic viewpoint. Language holds few things sweeter than the love-verse of the Persians, but for nobility of theme not even Homer himself can surpass the two great epics of the Hindus, the Ramayana and the Maha-bharata.

The subject of both epics is a war undertaken to recover the wife of one of the warriors who was carried off by the hero on the other side. In this the Ramayana corresponds in thought to the Iliad, but Sita, the chaste and beautiful wife of Rama, is a thousandfold more lofty in conception than the fickle Helen of Troy, and Savitri, in the Maha-bharata, is perhaps the finest wifely character in the whole realm of Literature ancient or modern. Her importunacy of the dread god of Death for the body of her husband as he trod the gloomy wastes to his own sad abode is one of the most beautiful passages ever penned.

The Ramayana is held to be one of the most sacred of all the Hindu productions. Like other works of the same class, it boldly lays claim to supernatural powers, declaring that "Whoever reads or hears the Ramayana will be freed from all sin. The Ramayana heals diseases, removes all fear of enemies, compensates for the loss of wealth or fame, prevents loss of life and secures all that is desired."

The plot and unity of the poem show it to have been originally the work of one man, but his name is lost to the historian, and there are three different versions now in existence. The one best known and most popular among Europeans is ascribed to Valmiki himself; but Tulasi-dasa, who was born 1544 A.D., and Vyasa took the crude legend which had for generations been repeated from father to son, and remodeled and finished it, each in his own peculiar style. The Ramayana seems almost interminable, consisting of 24,000 slokas or verses, and the brief abstract which follows and which is taken partly from the transcription by E. A. Reed in "Hindu Literature," scarcely does more than touch the mere outlines of the plot.

In the midst of unparalleled magnificence there lived in Ayodhya (Oude) a childless king, Dasaratha. Altho descended from the sun, his line threatened to become extinct, for there was no heir to his throne, and in despair the raja resolved to perform a stupendous sacrifice in order to propitiate the gods.

The gods, pleased with the sacrifice, went in a body to Brahma to intercede with him on behalf of the raja and to present a petition of their own. This latter was the ridding the world of the hideous ten-headed demon Ravana.

But Ravana aforetime had secured from Brahma the promise that he should not be slain by gods, by other demons or genii. Brahma having bestowed this promise, found himself in a dilemma, but he conducted the gods to the home of Vishnu, on an island in the sea of milk. The great Vishnu, the lord of all the world, was gracious to his divine petitioners and answered: "Be no longer alarmed; your foe shall fall before my feet. Ravana in his pride of power did not ask Brahma to preserve him from men or from monkeys, for he deemed them beneath his notice. I will myself be born as the son of Dasaratha. You shall assist me by assuming the form of monkeys,

and together we will overthrow this terrible enemy of gods and men."

Soon after the conclave of the gods had received from Vishnu a favorable answer to their petition, the principal wives of Dasaratha bore him four sons, Rama, Bharata, Lakshmana and Satru-ghna.

Each nation has an undoubted right to its own ideal, but the personal appearance which is ascribed to Rama hardly accords with modern ideas of beauty. He is represented as being of "a beautiful color like green grass, with fine, glossy hair and a large head. His nose was like that of the green parrot, his legs resembled plantain trees and his feet were red as the rising sun."

The raja Janaka, who ruled over a neighboring province, was the possessor of the wonderful bow of Siva, and no man could handle the great bow or the heavy arrows of the vindictive god. Janaka therefore issued a proclamation that he who could bend this bow should receive in marriage his beautiful daughter Sita, whose fame as the loveliest of living creatures is presented as world-wide.

When the bow was brought into the royal presence for the suitors' trial it lay in a great car, which moved upon eight wheels and was drawn by five thousand strong men; but Rama stepped forward and took the bow that none could lift from the car with his right hand and with the other hand bent the bow nearly double, so that it broke with a crash. The feat was unparalleled, and after lengthy ceremonies and with much pomp Sita was given in marriage to this wonderful warrior.

Rama thus being wed, in accordance with custom his father, the rajah, desired that he be installed as vice-rajah, that he might learn the ways of government, but Kaikeyi, the youngest and most beautiful wife of Dasaratha, mother of Bharata, had been burning with jealous rage ever since the joy and feasting over Rama's marriage began, and now the great preparations to install him as vice-rajah made her resolve to defeat him if possible. She

remembered that some years before, when the rajah was wounded in battle, she had nursed him tenderly, and in his gratitude he had promised her any two boons she might ask. The jealous mother then reminded the rajah of the two favors which he had promised when she had saved his life by her care and which she now claimed. "The first favor," she said, "is that my son Bharata be installed this day instead of Rama and the second is that Rama may be banished to the forest of Dandaka (a forest infested by demons), to lead the life of a hermit and to clothe himself in deerskins and in the bark of trees for fourteen years."

The rajah sought by every means in his power to avert the calamity, but Kaikeyi calmly told Rama herself, knowing that to keep his father's promise inviolate he would willingly go into exile. When Sita heard her husband's resolve, however, no argument could dissuade her from accompanying him into the forest, and followed by the tears of all the people of the city, they left luxury for hardship, plenty for privation, safety for danger.

The plot of Kaikeyi failed in part, however, for Bharata resolutely refused to profit by his mother's evil and followed Rama into the forest, beseeching him to return. But Rama stated that he had taken a vow to obey his father, and tho that father had died upon his leaving the court, still he would stay away the fourteen years. Whereon Bharata took the sandals that Rama had been wearing, ordered that the royal canopy should be spread above them and vowed that he, in the dress of a devotee, would administer the affairs of the realm in the name of Rama till his brother should return.

The perils of the forest at first appeared little to the loving husband and wife, for all the woodland creatures became tame, but the Rakshasas, or forest demons, hated them. At last one of these, determined to separate the pair, assumed the guise of a young woman and permitted herself to be found by Rama while engaged in the chase. His kindly sympathy she endeavored to transform to love,

but he pointed out that, come what may, he would be faithful to Sita. Then in anger the she-demon ran to the tent to slay Sita, but Lakshmana, who had been left to guard his sister-in-law, cut off the nose and ears of the assailant with his sword, and she, returning to her own base form, fled howling into the forest. The other Rakshasas joined in an attack on Rama, but the latter seized the bow of Vishnu and, single-handed, conquered the army of demons. The credit of the demon world was at stake, and an appeal was made to Ravana, the demon king of Ceylon, the enemy of gods and men. There were ten hideous heads upon his colossal form and twenty strong arms bade defiance to his foes. Each frightful head wore a golden serpent as a crown. He was taller than the Himalayas, and reaching upward, he could stop the stars in their courses. Such was the fear he inspired, that every living thing shuddered and shrunk out of sight upon his approach. Even the winds crept silently by and the angry sea forgot to rave and only moaned in terror when he looked upon her billows.

The she-demon, displaying her wound and calling for vengeance, adroitly suggested to Ravana that the woman Sita was the most lovely of the daughters of the earth and so inflamed the demon-king's imagination that he himself called his chariot and started for the distant forest. Arrived there, he bade one of his followers assume the shape of a fawn of gold and thus decoy Rama from Sita's side. Then assuming Rama's voice and calling for help, Lakshmana was drawn away and Sita was left alone.

Ravana approached the hut in the guise of a mendicant priest and the princess willingly told him her story. Then the mighty rajah of the Rakshasas said to her, "I am Ravana, the terror of the world. I have assumed this lowly form only to gain admission to your presence, for my power is known throughout the universe. You shall be the chief of all my wives and five thousand handmaids shall attend you."

The princess scorned him and threatened him with the wrath of Rama until the demon-god was angered and showed himself to her in his true form, vast as a mountain and terrible as Yama, the King of Death. His red eyes glared upon her and his enormous body seemed to be covered with bristles of fire. With his ten horrible heads and twenty terrible arms he stood before her like a black, angry cloud flashing with lightnings. With one pitiful cry of "Rama! Rama!" she fainted at his feet, and he, lifting her from the ground, carried her to his chariot.

A vulture, who had been fatally wounded by the demon-king in an attempt to snatch the woman from his arms, revealed to Rama who was his foe, and armed with this information, the bereaved husband hastened to the King of the Monkeys for assistance. He arrived at an opportune moment, and being so fortunate as to be able to help Sugriva, the king, he secured his powerful aid, and Hanuman, the great monkey general, was sent on a reconnoissance. As J. Talboys Wheeler says in his 'History of India,' "The narrative of Rama's alliance with the monkeys exercizes a weird influence upon the imagination. . . . The mind is called upon to deal with nondescript beings, half monkey and half man; having long tails and walking upon all fours, and yet performing funeral rites for a deceased rajah and installing a successor upon the throne with all the forms of ceremony of human beings."

Hanuman crept through the city of Lanka in the form of a cat until he found Sita, still resisting the bribes and endearments of Ravana. The captive would not escape, desiring only to be resued by Rama, so in part revenge on the demon-king, Hanuman ravaged a grove of mango-trees and then set the city on fire, returning to Rama and Sugriva with the report of his success.

At last the expedition was ready and an innumerable host of monkeys awaited the word of command to march upon Lanka. The rajah had given the control of his

troops into the hands of Rama, who was commander general, while Lakshmana and Sugriva were his chiefs of staff. The vast army extended in length a thousand miles. Over a bridge made by the aid of a sea goddess the hosts marched to the island capital of the demon-king. The forces joined in combat immediately.

Finding that the tide of battle was going against his troops Ravana marched to the field in person at the head of powerful re-enforcements. As the terrible conflict continued Rama and Ravana came face to face in the fight and were soon engaged in single combat. The god Indra looked down from heaven, and seeing that Rama was without a chariot, sent him his own, with armor and weapons, and also his charioteer. As the terrible duel progressed, the other gods became so absorbed in the fight that they could not refrain from joining in the fray.

As the fight grew more and more desperate the combatants drew closer, and at last an arrow hissing from Rama's bow cut off one of Ravana's heads; but like the hydra whose heads were severed by Hercules, another immediately grew in its place. Again and again he cut a head from the demon, only to see it renewed by the time he could draw his bow again.

"Then Matali to Rama cried:
'Let other arms the day decide.
Launch at the foe thy dart whose fire
Was kindled by the Almighty Sire.'
He ceased, and Raghu's son obeyed.
Upon his string the hero laid
An arrow like a snake that hissed,
Whose fiery flight had never missed.
By Brahma's self on him bestowed
When forth to fight Lord Indra rode.

. . . . . .

He laid it on the trusted cord
And turned the point at Lanka's lord,

And swift the limb-dividing dart
Pierced the huge chest and cleft the heart,
And dead he fell upon the plain,
Like Vritra by the Thunderer slain."

But when all men looked to see Sita restored to favor, her husband, the victim of false Hindu ideas of honor, would not receive her, and when she came, all gladness and rejoicing to meet him, he repulsed her and declared

Fig. 23 —Sita Justified by the Ordeal of Fire. From the Ramayana.

that revenge and not rescue had been the cause of his attack upon the demon-king.

Thereupon Sita, desiring not to live, ordered that a funeral pyre be built, and sadly averring her spotless innocence, she passed into the flames and the pyre burnt on amidst the cries and lamentations of the multitude, when lo! the god of fire came forth from the flames, bearing Sita in his arms. Giving her to Rama, Agni said: "Take her

as your wife. She is without a stain. I know the hearts of all, and had she the shadow of a stain upon her chastity she would never have passed in safety from me." Then Rama placed his arm around her, and declaring that his sternness had been but for the purpose of securing this evidence of her innocence, restored to her rightful place the queen. Then, the fourteen years of exile being accomplished, he returned in triumph to his own kingdom.

At last, however, it began to be whispered in the capital that a woman who had spent months of her life at the court of the demon-king was unfit to be the queen of Ayodhya. "The king knew," writes Miss Reed, "his wife as pure as the snow upon the peak of Himalaya; he knew that she was as far above immorality as that icy coronal was above the dust in the vale at its feet, but this divine Rama had not the manliness to stand by his devoted wife and banished her to the forests under the guise of having her seek the counsel of a sage.

"Over long stretches of desert and through wild jungle the exiled wilfe struggled on her unknown way, tho the birds in pity dipped their pinions in the waters of the Ganges and fanned her feverish face that she might not faint with the heat, and the royal tiger walked beside her to protect her from the hungry wolves in the wilderness. But at last she fell fainting by the way and was found in a swoon by Valmiki the sage, who lifting her tenderly in his arms, carried her to his hermitage." That very night Sita gave birth to two boys whom she named Lava and Kusa.

The two sons of Sita were carefully educated by Valmiki. Before they were twenty years of age they had attained to physical and mental manhood. One day, however, they seized a horse, made sacred as a sacrifice for the king, and refused to give him up. An army sent to capture them was defeated by these two sons of Rama, whereupon the rajah himself went to meet them, and learning that their mother's name was Sita and realizing that these two stalwart warriors were his own sons, was

overcome with emotion and gladly assented when the sage urged him to be reconciled to his wife.

Rama made the condition, however, that Sita should again go through the ordeal of fire. But Sita's love had cooled, and when she was persuaded to come forth by Valmiki, instead of invoking the god of fire, as before, she said: "Oh, Earth, if I have never turned my thoughts toward any man but Rama; if my truth and purity are known to thee; I beseech of thee to open a passage for me and receive me into thy bosom, for I will never again behold the face of any living creature."

On hearing these terrible words a thrill of horror ran through the multitude, the earth thus appealed to slowly heaved and opened and out of the newly formed abyss arose a splendid throne, supported by four of the sacred serpents. Then the beautiful goddess of the earth came from the chasm, wearing a robe of molten silver, and led Sita to the throne and took a seat beside her. The glad earth slowly closed and the gods sang praises to the enthronized. But the terror-stricken spectators, turning their eyes upon Rama, beheld him groveling upon the ground in agony. At length the aged and heart-broken king returned to the palace, taking his sons with him, but Sita he never saw again.

Of less poetical value, but of greater worth as pseudo-history, is the "Great War of Bharata," or the Mahabharata. It is the most gigantic poetic work in literature, consisting of two hundred and twenty thousand lines, while the Iliad and Odyssey combined contain only about thirty thousand. Unlike the Ramayana, it is not a single poem; it is an immense collection of Hindu mythology, legend and philosophy. To relate the details of the thread of fratricidal war that links the whole together would be purposeless. In spirit and in treatment it compares with the Ramayana. There is an apparently authentic tradition to the effect that the Kauravas, who were the sons of the

blind Rajah Dhrita-rashtra, engaged in a long and bitter rivalry with their cousins, the Pandavas, who were the sons of Rajah Pandu, and that it was this rivalry between the two branches of the royal house that led to the great war from which the Maha-bharata derives its name.

But there is occasionally a gem of sentiment which ought to be preserved, such as the victory of love over death in the beautiful legend of Savitri and Satyavan. This little poem is well worthy of the attention which has been given it by various scholars, the condensation here-

Fig. 24 —The Battle Between the Brothers. From the Maha-bharata.

inafter partly follows E. A. Reed's excellent description in 'Hindu Literature,' partly Sir Edwin Arnold's famous and beautiful setting in 'Indian Idylls.' Of all the myths of the Maha-bharata it is perhaps the purest and most touching.

King Asva-pati had as his only daughter the beautiful Savitri, who was so lovely, so rich and so scornful of her suitors that none dared to ask for her hand, and the princess at last was given the right to travel and choose her own lord. But the rajahs in their luxurious courts wearied her, and she was returning to her home when she stopped at a hermitage, where the aged hermit and his wife were

tended by a handsome youth, their only son. The princess looked upon him thoughtfully, then proceeded on her journey homeward.

One day the Maha-raja sat in his council hall with the sage Narada. They were talking in low tones of the affairs of state when the king's daughter was announced. Standing before the sage, with her face crimsoned with blushes, she said, "Father, I have been long away; I have visited the courts of princes; I have offered sacrifice in the sacred groves, and I have found in one of these the banished king of Chalva, who lost his throne and kingdom because of blindness. Their loyal son ministers to their wants; he brings them fruit and game for food; he feeds their sacrificial fire and pulls the sacred kusa grass. Him I have chosen."

Then said Narada, "Not he, my child—thou canst not choose the banished Satyavan. He is both brave and noble; a grander youth ne'er trod a kingly court, but o'er his head there hangs a fearful fate. He is doomed to die, and in a year the gods decide that he must go."

But the girl replied, "A loyal heart can choose but once and a loyal sire will not revoke his promise."

Elaborate preparations were made for the wedding and before many weeks passed the bridal train left the city for the hermitage, and the exiled king and hermit blessed the union. But no sooner were the rajah and his queen gone than Savitri laid aside her costly jewels and her silken robes and donned the rough garments that befitted her new station as a hermit's wife. She could not wear a finer robe than he; she could not see her hands decked with gold and gems while his were rough with toil.

The little family dwelt in their forest home in sweet content, but Savitri carried a fearful dread—a counting of the days when the death decree should be fulfilled. This she bore alone, saving the others pain. Each night the sun went down she knew that one day less remained to Satyavan. At last the days had nearly fled and her songs

were hushed in tearful prayers. When the time was nearly come she sat beneath a great tree like a beautiful statue for three long days and nights, mutely imploring the gods to save from death's decree the man she loved.

The fateful day dawned at last and found her weak and faint, but she would not taste of food. Only one plea she made—that she might go with Satyavan when he went out into the forest to cut the sacred wood for the evening sacrifice, and tho he tenderly remonstrated, she pleaded still and he set out, ax in hand through the wilderness, making a path for the woman's feet that patiently followed his own.

Afar from home they gathered fruits and flowers for the evening sacrifice, and all the while the anxious wife watched with aching heart every look and motion of her lord. At last he reeled in sudden pain and cried, "I cannot work," and falling at her feet, lay still.

Suddenly at her side she saw a fearful shape, that seemed neither god nor man, tall and dark with visage grim, his garments crimson as if with blood, his eyes glowing like burning coals in their deep sockets. In one hand he bore a long black noose and bent over Satyavan. As the specter leaned above her husband the trembling princess prayed to know who he was and why he came. He answered, "I am Yama, the god of death, and I am come to bear away the soul of Satyavan."

"But," pleaded the wife, "'tis thy messengers that bear away the souls of men. Why is it, mighty chief, that thou hast come?"

"Because Prince Satyavan was the grandest, noblest of his race," replied the god, "and none save Yama's self was worthy to bear his soul away," and bending lower still he fitted the dreadful noose and drew out the soul of Satyavan. Then silently he strode away toward the southland with his prize.

But the stricken princess hastened on behind the fearful King of Death. At last he turned.

"Go back," he said. "Why dost thou follow in my steps?"

But she replied: "Wherever my lord is borne, there I shall surely go; he is my life, my all; I cannot leave him, and I must go with thee. By reason of my wifely love thou wilt let me come."

And still she followed on until the King of Death himself felt pity for the faithful wife, and turning back he said: "Return, my child, to life and health. Thy wifely love is good, but the kingdom of Yama is not the place for thee. Still, I will grant thee any boon that thou dost crave, except this life that I am bearing away."

Then said Savitri, "Let the blind and banished king, my husband's father, have both his sight and throne restored."

"It shall be so," returned the god. "I grant thee this, but now turn back; our way is long and dark; already thou art weary and thou wilt die upon the road."

"I am not weary," said Savitri; "I cannot tire while I am near to Satyavan. Wherever he is borne, there must I go."

And the tireless feet toiled patiently on behind the King of Death until he turned again and said: "Darkness is coming on; soon thou canst not find thy way alone. I will give to thee another boon—anything except this life—and then thou must return."

Quickly the princess thought of her own sire, whose only child now followed Death—thought of his lonely home and coming age, and she said, "Give to my father princely sons to bear his royal name."

"So shall it be," returned the mighty king, "and now I have granted thy wishes, go back to life and light."

But she only answered plaintively, "I cannot go, great king. I cannot leave my lord. Thou hast taken him and my heart is in thy hand. I must surely come with thee."

At last they came to a cavern, dark and damp as death itself, and here again Yama turned upon the pitiful figure in the darkness behind him and this time demanded

fiercely, "Art thou still upon my path? In pity for thy grief I will give thee anything thou wilt except this life within my hand."

Then answered Savitri, "Give me children—the sons of Satyavan. Let me bear to him loyal heirs of his goodness and his truth."

Death smiled grimly. Should he be conquered yet by this little Hindu wife? But he answered: "Yama hath promised thee, and I must grant thee even this."

Then with rapid strides he entered the great vault of the cavern, while the startled bats and owls made the place more hideous with their cries. But still he heard the patter of patient feet behind him, and his burning eyeballs blazed in the darkness upon Savitri. "Go back," he said. "Thou shalt return; I will bear no longer with thy persistent following!"

"I would go back, oh, mighty Yama, if I could," wailed the weary wife, "but in your hands you carry my own life. 'Tis only my helpless frame that follows thee, and now I am so weak with grief and fear that I must come nearer to Satyavan"; and the tired head drooped upon the dark, cold hand of Death, close to the life she craved. The pitiless king felt the touch of tear-wet cheeks and clinging hair, and again his heart was softened by her faithful love.

"Thou art innocence itself and tenderness and truth," said Yama. "Thou hast taught me lessons new of woman's fidelity. Ask any boon thou wilt and it shall be thine."

Then at his feet she fell in joy. "This time, oh, king," she cried, "thou hast excepted nothing, and I ask not wealth, nor throne, nor heaven itself. I crave my heart, my life—give me my Satyavan!"

The fire in his eyes beamed more softly as he said: "Fair queen, thou art the brightest gem of womankind. Here, take thy Satyavan. Saved by his peerless wife, he long shall live and reign with her, and his line shall be upheld by princely sons who shall call thee mother. Go now, my child, time hasteth, and long hast thou been with

me." Then turning gloomily away, he went down—down into the darkness of the cavern. But the glad wife, holding her precious treasure close to her heart, retraced her steps back through the darkness of cavern and wood, her torn feet climbing the ascending pathway, fearing nothing, knowing nothing, save that in her arms she carried her beloved.

The greatest of the modern epics of the East unquestionably is the Shah-Namah of Firdusi, who wrote in the beginning of the eleventh century. It is a valuable Persian classic, but despite the fact that it possesses a national aspect is not truly national. At this time the ancient Oriental Epics and the Classic Epics were thoroly familiar, and most of the incidents in the Shah-Namah will be found to be adaptations (either conscious or unconscious) therefrom. Moreover, it lacks a consistent story and a coherent whole.

It tells the wondrous birth of the hero Rustem, how that he was brought up by a Simurgh (roc?), a mighty bird who caught elephants for its young. (Compare the Song of Gudrun.) The hero, leading the Persian hosts, secured a determinative victory over the Turanian invaders and forced them to an assurance that they would return to their own territory and refrain from further attempts upon the peace of Persia. But the old Persian king died, his boastful successor, Kai-Kaus, taking his place, and the newly crowned monarch, not content with peace and having heard of the riches of the Tartar hordes, defied the hosts of Mazinderan.

Rustem opposed the campaign, and the king led his hosts without the presence of the famous warrior. The Tartar chieftain, however, called the army of "White Demons" to his aid (compare the Maha-bharata), the braggart king was taken prisoner and blinded and the royal prisoner was placed in custody in the capital city of the Land of the Demons. Rustem, loyal despite the monarch's slight, set out

to rescue him, passing through six fearful perils (compare the Labors of Hercules), only to be confronted at the last with the task of storming the mountain-dwelling of the White Demon single-handed. This, however, he did, and after a fearful struggle slew the hated chief of the demons. Having—with the blood of the White Demon—cured his king's blindness, Rustem returned to the court.

Out hunting one day, having lain down to sleep as night fell, some Tartar horsemen stole his famous horse Rakush. The warrior traced the steed to Samenegan, the capital of Turan, and quietly entered the city of his foes and demanded the steed from the king. But while the search was proceeding, Rustem met the daughter of the Turanian king, and mutual love hastened the bridal. The Tartar bride, as time went on, grew jealous of the Persian home-longings of Rustem, and when her son was born she sent word to the father that it was a girl to avoid his taking the boy away. Therefore a matter of no interest, the child was kept hidden, and the boy grew to manhood without ever having been seen by his father.

This son was Sohrab, a hero almost as great as Rustem. Seeing this complication, the Tartars ingeniously fomented war with Persia and Rustem returned to his native soil to head the army, leading it against a force commanded—all unknowingly to him—by his son. Sohrab, fatally wounded by Rustem, revealed his parentage, and Rustem was stricken with grief at the knowledge of his having slain his only son and his realization of his wife's deceit.

The latter part of the story—hundreds of thousands of lines in length—tells of the jealousy of the king against Rustem, of his sending against him in combat the hero Isfendiyar, of the death of Isfendiyar and of the later treachery against Rustem by which the hero's fall was compassed. Such is the baldest suggestion of an outline of the greatest epic of "The Homer of Iran," whose own independence and scorn of petty courtiers was not less haughty than that of the hero whose labors he told so well.

CHAPTER VII

THE NORTHERN EPICS

It is one of the especial characteristics of great epic poetry that it takes its tone and its breadth from the people wherein it was born; that it is not, like a lyric, a pretty conception which might be equally true in all climes and among all races, but that it is intensely national and profoundly interpretative of a people's life. Herein lies its value. Thus the exotic beauty of the epics of the Orient harps too much on pleasure, and its sweetest lines ripple in indolence and love of ease. Love is tender rather than lofty and duty is philosophic rather than intuitive.

A far different note is struck when the Sagas of the frozen north become heard. The abandonment to luxury held out and hoped for in the Hindu poems is in strong contrast to the rigorous sense of "honor at any price" and the Viking disregard of the softer shades of personal comfort. The Greek Epics treat of heroes, the Oriental of monarchs, but the northern sagas ring with the clash of battle and the Berserk cries of warriors. The most primitive and perhaps the purest form is found in the Icelandic Eddas.

During the latter part of the ninth century Iceland, the remotest corner of Europe, was discovered and peopled by a number of noble and high-minded families who had emigrated from Norway, seeking freedom from the despotism of Harold the Fair-Haired. They carried with them the ancient heirlooms of the Teutonic race: its language,

manners, religion and its love for song and poetry and for the beauties and sublimity of nature. There the ice-crust often cracks and Hecla casts forth its flames, and as from their frozen swamps hot springs rise on high, so poetry defied the ice.

In the year 1643 Brynjolf Sveinsson, bishop of Skalholt, discovered a number of manuscripts, and, supposing them to have been collected by Saemund (born 1056, died 1133), he called the work "Edda Saemundar hinns froda"—*i.e.*, "Edda of Saemund the Wise." The name "Edda" signifies in Icelandic "great-grandmother," and had been applied before, particularly to a work supposed to have been written by Snorre Sturleson (born 1178, died 1241), the author of "Heimskringla," the great history of the North. Snorre's collection was known before Sveinsson's discovery, and is somewhat like the Edda of Saemund, but of later origin. The two Eddas have therefore been distinguished from each other by the terms "Elder Edda," or the Edda of Saemund, and "Younger Edda," or the Edda of Snorre Sturleson. The Elder Edda is in two parts, the first dealing with the gods and the second with the hero stories, and the Younger Edda is a commentary.

The Volsunga Saga, called so after Volsung, the sire of Sigurd (the German Siegfried), the hero of all the Nibelung stories, is partly a paraphrase in prose of the songs of the Elder Edda and was probably collected during the twelfth century. This work is of great importance, as its compiler knew some of the songs of the Edda that have been lost, and it contains also an account of Sigurd's ancestors, not to be found in the Elder Edda. The manuscripts of the Volsunga Saga give also the Ragnar Lodbrok Saga, which seems to owe its existence, at least partly, to the purpose of glorifying the Norwegian dynasty. The Thidrek or Vilkina Saga, including the Niflunga Saga, collected toward the middle of the thirteenth century, was composed from the saga-lore of Germany and

bears the impress of some of the later romantic tales in many of its parts.

The Nornagest Saga from the fourteenth century is based on the songs of the Elder Edda. The title of the saga is derived from "Gest," a native of the town Graening in Denmark. His life depended on a candle which a kind Norn had given to him, and he was therefore called "Nornagest" (the guest of the Norn). He lived three hundred years and related as an eye-witness Sigurd's (Siegfried's) deeds and death and other incidents of the Nibelung story to King Olaf Tryggvason.

There is a strong temptation to tell in some detail the story of the Volsunga Saga and to compare it with the story of the Nibelungen Lied that follows, to show the differences (which are great) and to trace the causes of these dissimilarities. But such would be outside the scope of this work. It must suffice to consider the story of the Nibelungen Lied as the principal and the finest type of the saga-cycle of the Volsungs and the Nibelungs.

The Nibelungen Lied, the great medieval epic of Germany, was composed in its present shape at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. Yet the beginning must be sought at an epoch when most of the German tribes, proud of their freedom, still hunted through the primeval forests; when the king was little more than the chosen leader in war; when Odin and Thor were worshiped; when the sacred trees had not yet fallen under the ax of the Christian missionaries and the martial spirit of the warriors was kindled to higher flames by the joys that waited for them at the feasts of Valhal. It is based on the combination and blending of four different sources: 1. The Frankish saga-cycle, or the saga-cycle of the Lower Rhine, whose hero is Siegfried, of Santen on the Lower Rhine. 2. The saga-cycle of Burgundy, whose heroes are Gunther, king at Worms, and his brothers, Gernot and Giselher. Their mother is called Ute (meaning ancestress); their sister is Kriemhild; Gunther's wife is Brun-

hild; his chief vassals are Hagen and Volker. 3. The Ostrogothic saga-cycle, whose hero is Dietrich von Bern; his principal vassal and weapon-master is old Hildebrand. 4. The saga-cycle of Etzel, or Attila, king of the Huns, with his allies and vassals; among the latter, Rüdiger von Bechlaren is the most distinguished. In the form in which it has been transmitted, the epic is divided into two parts, each of them containing nineteen songs. The first part may be named Kriemhild's Love, the second Kriemhild's Revenge.

The epic opens with the dream of Princess Kriemhild of Worms, a dream of eagles and a falcon, which betokened woe. As A. Vilmar says in his 'History of German Literature':

"The shadows of this dream move henceforth athwart the serene heaven of Kriemhild's life and love; darker and ever darker they hover over the spring days of her first and only love, darker and ever darker over the gay sports and magnificent feasts at the time of her marriage; with a pale glimmer the sun shines through the gloomy semi-darkness, until glowing red he approaches his decline, and at last with bloody, glaring splendor sinks into eternal night."

The fame of Kriemhild's beauty reached the ears of Siegfried, a mighty warrior who had conquered the keepers of the Nibelung hoard and possessed the treasure. He excelled all comers at the tournament held at Worms, but especially added to his fame by leading a small band of Burgundians to victory against the allied forces of the Saxons and the Danes. Thus fanned by his exploits and her beauty, the love of Siegfried and Kriemhild grew daily.

One day Gunther, the brother of Kriemhild, was urged by his friends to select a consort worthy of himself and of the glory of the country, and none but the mighty Brunhild, the Amazon Queen of Isenland, would suit him. As soon as Siegfried heard of this, he endeavored to dissuade Gun-

Fig. 25 —Kriemhild and the Falcon. From the Nibelungen Lied.

ther from such a dangerous plan by telling him of the martial prowess and unconquerable strength of Brunhild. Yet the king was determined that none other should be queen at Worms, and seeing this, Siegfried agreed to help him, providing Gunther would give him his sister Kriemhild in marriage.

There was, of course, no possibility of Gunther's success by his own powers, but through the aid of Siegfried and the use by the latter of the cap of darkness and other charms from the Nibelung hoard, which Siegfried in one of his adventures had secured, Gunther was made to appear a hero of heroes. In order not to outshine Gunther during his wooing, Siegfried passed himself off as a vassal. The bridal was to be celebrated at Gunther's court, but the surprise and annoyance of the stately Brunhild was great when she found her sister-in-law about to be married at the same time to this supposed vassal.

That very night the warlike queen tried to force her husband to reveal the cause of the other marriage, but he would not, and Brunhild bound him fast with her magic girdle till he should speak. The next day Gunther appealed to Siegfried, who at evening, donning the cap of darkness, wrested from Brunhild the magic charms she had possessed, leaving her no stronger than any other woman. Then Siegfried and Kriemhild journeyed home and lived many years in perfect happiness.

Brunhild, however, had not forgotten Siegfried, and feigning to have a great desire to see Kriemhild, Gunther complied with her wish to invite Siegfried and his wife to a great festival at Worms. At the festival a question of precedence arose and Brunhild taunted her guest with being the wife of a vassal. Kriemhild, knowing Siegfried's powers, replied angrily, and in the quarrel ensuing, in the heat of her passion, wrongly interpreting the events of the bridal night, asserted that Brunhild had been Siegfried's paramour, showing her the magic girdle and a ring.

Bitter hostility arose and partizans of each queen waited

constantly upon their weapons until "Grim Hagen," an ally of Brunhild, feigning friendship to Siegfried, learned the secret of the only place on the hero's body where he was vulnerable. Then, despite his reputation as a hero, he treacherously slew the warrior hated by his queen. After the body had been buried, Kriemhild took up her dwelling near the minster and went every day to Siegfried's grave, but no one could console her. During three years and a half she did not speak a word to her brother Gunther nor cast her eyes on blood-stained Hagen, but scattered precious gifts from the Nibelung hoard among rich and poor.

When Hagen saw what great power she could wield by her generosity, and how many knights were willing to become her vassals, he was greatly alarmed and stealthily had the hoard sunk in the Rhine, where, according to popular belief, it still remains. Thirteen years had passed since Siegfried's death, but Kriemhild bewailed his loss as vehemently as ever. She was about to withdraw to an abbey when suddenly new tidings came over the Rhine which changed her resolution.

This was a proposal of marriage from Etzel (Attila), King of the Huns, whose former wife, a saga-woman, had just died. Kriemhild would not listen to his suit until a promise of revenge on Hagen awakened her interest and she gave consent. Thenceforward Kriemhild, who had been queen of the Nibelungs (because Siegfried possessed the treasure and the name), now became the most bitter enemy of the Nibelungs, of which Hagen had become the leader. For twenty-six years after Siegfried's death no opportunity for revenge arrived, but at last her plans were ready and a great festival was held in Hungary which the Nibelungs attended.

Kriemhild endeavored now to execute her plans of vengeance, all unknown to King Etzel, and she found a willing tool for her bloody schemes in Blödel, Etzel's brother, who was won over by the queen's magnificent promises of

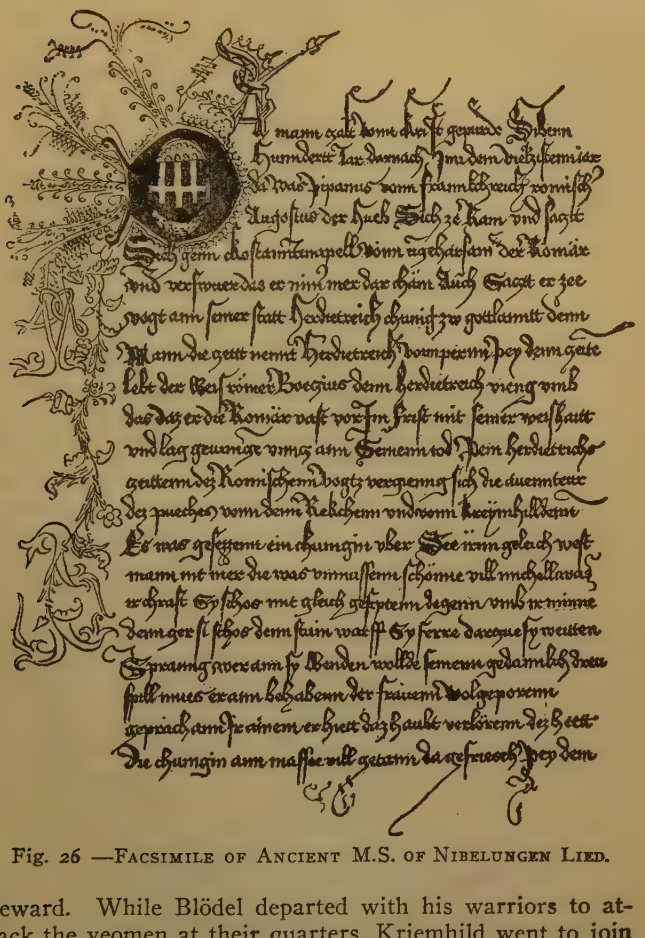


Fig. 26 —Facsimile of Ancient M.S. of Nibelungen Lied.

reward. While Blödel departed with his warriors to attack the yeomen at their quarters, Kriemhild went to join her lord at the royal banquet. After a long and desperate combat, in which Blödel fell by Dankwart's hand, all the

Burgundian yeomen and twelve knights, except Dankwart, were slain by the Huns.

The rest of the poem is a recital of desperate and bloody carnage. Dankwart, Hagen's brother, streaming with blood, cut his way to the banquet hall and stirred Hagen to revenge. The grim chief of the Nibelungs smote off the head of Kriemhild's child, Ortlieb, and threw it in the mother's lap, raising the Huns to the extremest pitch of fury at thus seeing their prince slaughtered before his mother's eyes at a banquet. Each side, desiring to see the other slaughtered to a man, refused to give way, and all the Nibelungs were slain except Hagen, Gunther and Volker.

In the conflict other tribes and allies who were guests at the festival had been drawn in and these were hurled against the two heroes, Hagen and Volker. At last Volker was slain by Hildebrand, the sole remaining warrior of the band of Amelungs, who was himself severely wounded. This left of the Nibelungs only Hagen and Gunther, the brother of the queen. At last, through the equally famous hero, Dietrich of Bern, Hagen and Gunther were both taken alive, tho severely wounded, and were cast into separate cells.

The queen, filled with joy at the thought that now at last revenge might be accomplished, went to Hagen's cell and promised to spare his life if he would reveal the place where the Nibelung hoard had been concealed. Hagen, undaunted despite his fetters, declared that as long as one of his lords should live he would not disclose the secret. The frenzied queen at once had Gunther's head cut off, in order to remove this supposed obstacle, and she herself bore it by the hair to Hagen. When the latter had recovered from the horror with which the deed filled his soul he vowed that never would he reveal to her where the treasure lay.

Kriemhild, once the very type of meek and gentle womanhood, seized the sword Balmung and with one stroke

killed her ancient foe lying before her helpless in bonds. Etzel was struck with dismay at the ghastly deed, and Hildebrand, furious at seeing the mighty hero thus dealt with by the frenzied woman, grasped his sword and killed the queen.

Thus begun as a simple love story does the Lay of the Nibelungs take to itself more and more somber colors till the scene closes upon murder requited by murder and revenge drowned in a red rain of slaughter. The pessimistic philosophy of it is seen in its last lines:

> "The royal feast was ended in sorrow and in pain;
> As joy draws ever sorrow behind it in its train."

Of mighty streams of poetry Germany has two, the one roaring through the rocks, foaming and bellowing in eddies and deep abysses—the Nibelungen Lied—the other flowing on clear and smooth, yet deep and strong, through pleasing landscapes—the poem of Gudrun. G. T. Dippold, in his 'Great Epics of Medieval Germany,' treats this most ably. The following summary is largely from his abstract:

The Lay of Gudrun comprises the sagas of three generations in thirty-two songs, which according to the custom of the age were called adventures, is divided into three sections. The first two form, as it were, an introduction to the story of Gudrun.

The epic opens with the carrying away by a griffin of Hagen, son of Sigeband, a king in Holland. The boy, then only seven years old, soon after escaped from the griffin and was brought up by three lovely girls who also had been carried to the griffin's island. As soon as he reached his full strength Hagen gave battle to the giant birds, slew them all and in a ship which arrived most opportunely returned to his home, where he married the youngest of the girls and became a famous warrior. After, his wife bore him a daughter of the greatest beauty, named Hilde, who was stolen from her home by King Hetel, the

monarch of the Hegelings, with his stanch kinsman the hero, Wat of Sturmland.

It is of their daughter, Gudrun, fairest of all the daughters of men, that the true epic deals. As in Hilde's case, the father looked angrily on all suitors to her hand. There were many of these, but the chiefest were Siegfried, King of Moorland; Hartmut, son of King Ludwig of Normandy, and Herwig, King of Seeland. Hartmut, disguised, came to the court and endeavored to win by sympathy where he had failed by position, but Gudrun advised him to flee. Of a sudden Herwig of Seeland invaded Hetel's realm with three thousand knights and a fierce combat took place near the castle gate, the fight being stopped by Gudrun, who stepped forward and announced herself ready to become betrothed to Herwig.

When Siegfried of Moorland learned that Gudrun had been betrothed to Herwig, angrily remembering the scornful rejection of his suit, he at once mustered a large army and set sail for Herwig's country, which he devastated with merciless hand. Herwig sent messengers to Gudrun, and Hetel, followed by Wat, Morung and Horant, with a powerful host, set out to aid Herwig. After long and fierce fighting, Siegfried was compelled to take refuge in a fortress situated by a large river, where he was besieged.

In the meantime Hartmut had been informed by spies that Hetel with his great vassals had left his country, and the Normans landed an army, while Hartmut sent messengers to the royal castle again to woo Gudrun. The maiden told them artlessly and frankly that she was affianced to Herwig and therefore could not listen to the proposals of another man. Thereupon the Normans attacked the castle, which was taken and destroyed after a fierce struggle. Gudrun, with sixty-two maidens, was carried away captive by the Normans.

For thirteen years Gudrun remained faithful to her betrothed Herwig and would not listen to Hartmut until one winter day, when Gudrun and Hildburg were on the

beach, being forced to wash for the cruel Gerlind, as had been their weary lot for many years past, there appeared on the waves a strange bird, swimming toward them, probably a swan maiden or a mermaid, skilled in foretelling the future. The bird spoke to Gudrun in a human voice and told them that all the youth of the country having now grown up to be warriors, a huge army had landed in the hope of finding Gudrun, and bade them come to the beach next morning.

The next day on reaching the beach they cast many a wistful glance toward the sea, hoping to espy the promised aid from their native land. All at once they perceived on the waves a little skiff and two men sitting in it, who rowed toward the shore. Gudrun and Hildburg shivered with cold, having been sent out in the snow barefoot, and were ashamed not only of their scant attire but also of being seen washing by their friends. They were about to flee, but the two knights, who were no other than Herwig and Ortwein, besought them by their maiden honor to await their approach.

Gudrun tested them by saying that she was dead, but seeing their grief, revealed herself, and Herwig, enraptured at seeing his bride, clasped her in his arms and kissed her tenderly. He intended to take her with him at once, but Ortwein opposed such a step, saying that it would be craven not to rescue all the noble maidens who had shared her fate. Then the two knights took leave of the maidens, promising them to be on the next morning with eighty thousand men before the gates of the Norman castle.

At sunrise the combat began in front of the castle, from whose battlements Gudrun gazed down upon the host. The Normans fought with desperate valor, but Wat raged like a furious lion among his foes and Hartmut distinguished himself greatly. Herwig assailed King Ludwig with great rage, but was struck down by the latter and only saved from instant death by his vassals who hastened to his rescue. Ashamed of his defeat in the sight of his

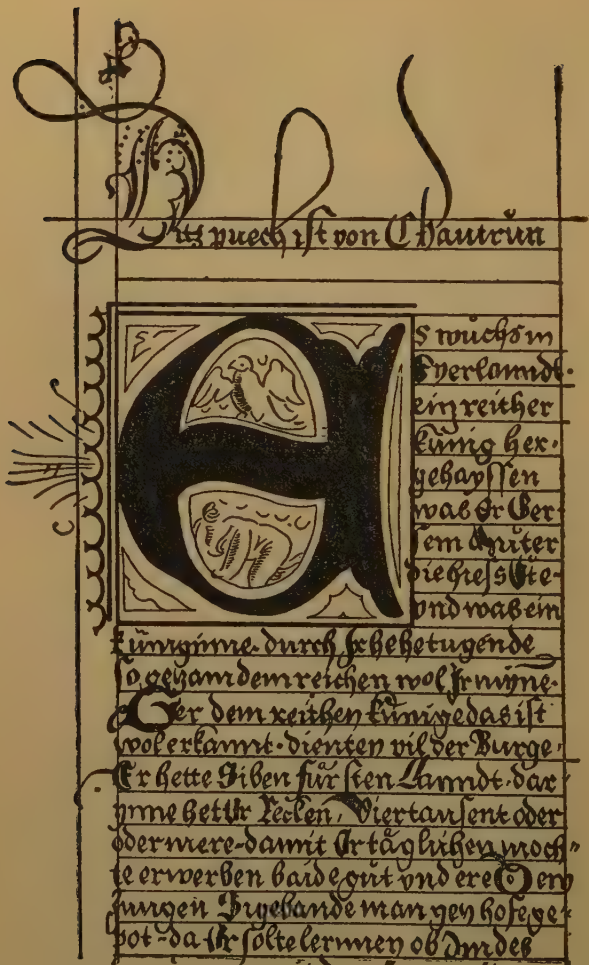


Fig. 27 —Facsimile of Ancient M.S. of the Song of Gudrun.

fair bride, Herwig followed the fierce old Norman king, who was about to withdraw into his castle, and challenged him to combat. Ludwig turned round to face his adversary, and after a bitter fight was slain by Herwig. Thus the latter revenged the death of King Hetel on the Wülpensand.

Meanwhile Hartmut and Wat had met and Gudrun called from the castle window to Herwig to separate the two rival chiefs. Herwig asked Wat to cease the contest, but Wat, however chivalrous he might be to women, did not allow them to interfere in matters of warfare, and as Herwig thrust himself between the two champions, Wat dealt him such a blow that he fell to the ground. His vassals bore him away. Hartmut and eighty of his knights were made prisoners of war and Wat entered the hall.

"Then old Sir Wat, the champion of them, became aware,
With gnashing teeth in fury he made his entrance there.
His ell-long beard was floating about, his eyes were glaring.
All stood in mortal terror of Wat's grim rage unsparing."

He gave no quarter, showed no mercy, himself slew the cruel Gerlind and did not even spare the children in the cradle, while any rebuke of his barbarity only enraged him the more. A full vengeance thus having been wreaked, they joyfully set sail for the land of the Hegelings with Gudrun and her retinue. They also carried with them Hartmut and the other prisoners, besides a large and rich booty.

Gudrun's true nature found itself in securing a kind reception for Ortrun, Gerlind's daughter, and in pleading for the freeing of Hartmut and the other Norman captives from their bonds. The preparations for the wedding of Herwig and Gudrun immediately were begun on a large

scale. Orthwein, Gudrun's brother, was charmed by the now captive Norman princess Ortrun, and Hartmut wedded Hildburg, who had shared Gudrun's captivity in such a faithful manner. Herwig's sister was married to Siegfried. After the wedding feasts of the four kings were ended they departed with their wives into their own countries. Thus, after years of bloody warfare, peace and tranquillity were at last established among these wild seafaring tribes.

Scarcely less great than the famous epics of Homer, equal in power to the Volsunga Saga and the Nibelungen Lied and of an antiquity extending to almost 3,000 years, is the Kalevala. "This great Finnish epic," says Wm. Sharp, "is in a sense the most important national epic in existence. In it are reflected not only the manners, beliefs and superstitions of a race, but the very soul of that race. The Finnish pulse beats in the Kalevala, the Finnish heart stirs throughout its rhythmic sequences, the Finnish brain molds and adapts itself within these metrical limits." Steinthal places it second in his list of the four great epics of the world, giving the Iliad the first place, and Jacob Grimm declares that only the epics of India are worthy of being compared to it.

Even Max Muller is momentarily weaned from his Sanskrit devotion to praise it. "A Finn is not a Greek," he says, "and Wainamoinen was not an Achilles; but, if the poet may take his colors from that nature by which he is surrounded, if he may depict the men with whom he lives, the Kalevala possesses merits not dissimilar from those of the Iliad and will claim its place as the fifth national epic of the world, side by side with the Ionian songs, the Maha-bharata, the Shah-namah and the Nibelungen Lied."

The main body and frame of the Kalevala is compounded of four cycles of folk songs. The poem itself deals with three heroes, Wainamoinen, Ilmarinen and

Lemminkainen, with a later (and Christian) addition concerning Mariatta, a virgin who had a child of wondrous birth. The theme of the narrative is the struggles and adventures of these three heroes with the mythical darksome Laplanders from two lands of terror, "Pohjola, a land of the cold north," and "Luomela, the land of death." The poem proper, which begins with the creation of the world, ends with the final triumph of Wainamoinen and his comrades.

Beside the four divisional cycles of the three heroes, there are seven distinct romances and fables woven into the general fabric—namely, The Tale of Aino, The Fishing for the Mermaid, The Wooing of the Daughter of the Air, The Golden Bride, The Wooing of the Son of Kojo, The Captivity and Deliverance of the Sun and Moon and The Story of the Virgin Mariatta. Like all the great epics of this character, it has existed from time immemorial in the form of lays and ballads and it is but recently that these have been collected and woven together. The Kalevala dates back to an enormous antiquity. John Martin Crawford, whose translation of the Finnish epic is unsurpassed, and from whose version the passages to be quoted hereafter are taken, points out that in it Russians, Swedes and Germans have no existence.

It is most distinctively and aggressively national. "In this great national epic," says Wm. Sharp, "we hear, almost as distinctly as the voices of men and women and the sharp antagonism of forces bodily and spiritual, the lone cry of the wind, the dashing of solitary seas and the cry of the wild swan along the unfrequented lakes."

One very noticeable feature of the poem is the stress which is laid upon magical power. "It might have been expected from the character of the people," comments John A. Porter in his "Selections from the Kalevala," "but still it stands out here as in no other people's poems or legends. Wainamoinen, the hero, the god of poetry and music, accomplishes nearly everything by magic. His

songs disarm his antagonists, they appease the eagle of the storm, they throw a whole people into a deep sleep, they give warmth to the new sun and moon which Ilmarinen forges out of copper, they give life to the new wife made out of gold and silver," and they make the world fair to live in as the Master sings. It is not verbose and discursive as certain of the Indian and Persian epics, but in true northern style, has a story to tell and does so with direct phrase and abundance of incident. The Iliad possesses a certain sameness, the Odyssey adventures are grouped around a very simple story, but the Kalevala is richer in excitement than the two of them together.

Wainamoinen, in the very beginning of things, was born of the Daughter of the Ether. He began his work as world-magician at birth, and finding the earth treeless, planted first forests and then grain. The forests spread so rapidly that they threatened to engulf the grain, so he destroyed the forests, leaving only small parts of them, notably the birch trees, for the birds to rest in. Then he began his magic song, and as the melodic phrases fell the world about him grew up to a golden age of peace and contentment.

But the fame of Wainamoinen reached at last to Lapland. A young braggart, Youkahainen, who had learned some few of the rudimentary principles of magic and some simple magic songs, determined to go and oust the great master singer Wainamoinen and rob him of his laurels. Driving madly, he reached the boundaries of Finland, and seeing before him an aged man, he sought to force the traveler out of the road, and refusing to turn his horses, the sleighs crashed together.

Youkahainen immediately broke into a violent diatribe against Wainamoinen for not getting out of his way and threatened to bring down a curse on him by a magic song. The old magician smiled and bade him sing, but the braggart found his powers naught. The boasting Laplander, to show his lore, sang of the ways of the fish beneath the

sea, of the birds in the air and all the lore of his time; but Wainamoinen told him to sing of the creation of the world and of the happenings in the kingdoms of the gods, asking for philosophy instead of children's tales.

Youkahainen then tried to veil his ignorance by a boastful recital of his presence when the first rocks were made and when the sea was gathered together and assumed almost as much authority as tho he were the Creator himself. At this Wainamoinen, who throughout the whole poem is very reverent to Ukko, the one God and the Creator, became angered, revealed himself and began to sing. First he sang of the inner life of the world and how all things came to have their being; turning to magic songs, he sang Youkahainen's horses into birds, the sleigh into reeds that grew beside the frozen river, the harness into shackles wherewith to bind the boastful Laplander and the ground about where he stood into a bog in which Youkahainen sank until he cried in despair for help. Wainamoinen would not free him until he promised his sister, The Maid of the Rainbow, in marriage to the old magician. This plan, however, was foiled by the cleverness of the girl herself, and Wainamoinen instead wooed another beautiful Northland maid, the daughter of Louhi, a great enchantress. The mother refused, however, to consider his suit, saying she would not give her except to the man who could make the Sampo, a curious charm of fertility.

This, however, Wainamoinen could not do, but Ilmarinen, the great blacksmith, after producing many undesired but wonderful things, at last brought forth the Sampo from his forge, but the girl declared she was still too young to wed. Wainamoinen and Ilmarinen returned home, and hearing of their departure, a lover, also a hero but of a different moral caliber, appeared. This was Lemminkainen. He went through many adventures in order to show his right to be considered a suitor for Louhi's daughter, but failed in the last, which was the

slaying of the giant pike which guarded the River of Death.

Wainamoinen and Ilmarinen, having heard of Lemminkainen's attempt, returned to the wooing, agreeing to abide by the maid's decision. The girl chose Ilmarinen. Wainamoinen, despite his grief, praised the girl for her bravery and sagacity in refusing even the master magician of the world for the sake of youth. The marriage festivities were lengthy and glorious, but suddenly in the midst of them appeared Lemminkainen, full of spite, who in revenge drew his sword, cut off the head of the father of the bride and fled.

He was pursued, but reached a fair island in the sea, called the Island of Refuge. There this handsome but evil-minded young hero won the hearts of all the girls on the island and forced them all to submit to his pleasure. Despite his ruining them, they became deeply attached to him, all save one, a spinster, whose features were extremely plain, and in jealousy she called down a curse upon his homeward voyage, and Lemminkainen's craft accordingly was sunk in a violent storm, and he reached home after unparalleled hardship to find his home burned and his mother slain by the people of Loumi.

In the meantime there arose a hero of magic power, Kullervo, of gigantic stature. (This is a story within a story, really a different epic entirely.) He could not be slain, even in babyhood, but his huge size made him so clumsy that all he touched went askew. Being angered one day by Ilmarinen's wife, for whom he was herding cattle, he went through the forest, gathered together all the bears and wolves, helped the wild beasts to slay the flock, and then drove the herd of bears and wolves home at the milking time. He called Ilmarinen's wife to the milking and waited to see her devoured.

Ilmarinen's wife having been slain through the evil doings of Kullervo, the blacksmith resolved to secure her younger sister. But he was refused because the girl

feared some mishap such as fell upon her sister and because Louhi, having the Sampo, was content. Ilmarinen returned to Wainamoinen and pointed out that they must secure the Sampo, and an expedition accordingly was contrived, in which Lemminkainen joined. Suddenly the boat in which the three heroes were ran aground, but Wainamoinen, looking into the water, declared it to be a huge pike. Lemminkainen raised his huge sword, but failed to arouse the monster; Ilmarinen whirled his new forged blade about his head and brought it resounding upon the body of the fish, who slept on undisturbed; but Wainamoinen, drawing from its scabbard the Sword of Fire worn by Ukko the Creator, severed the monster's head from its body.

Of the bones of the great pike Wainamoinen made a most wonderful harp, the strings being from the hair of the horses of Hisi, the God of Terror. Many heroes and minstrels tested the instrument, but none could master it till Wainamoinen took the harp and began to play. As he played the waters stilled, the winds came to rest, the clouds hung motionless and all nature hushed to listen. Then Wainamoinen changed his theme and sleep fell on all the land, a slumber deep and dreamless, during which Ilmarinen rent apart the mountain wherein the Sampo treasure was hidden and they departed in silence.

But Ilmarinen was so rejoiced over the recovery of the treasure that he broke the silence. The Northland people woke and saw the ship sailing away. Straightway Louhi summoned the mighty serpent from the bottom of the sea to seize the ship, but Wainamoinen reached into the water and grasped the huge creature by the ears, holding the head out of water until the water-dweller begged for mercy and promised to seek the bottom and never rise again. As the tale quaintly tells, this must be true because he has never risen since. Louhi sought other means of redress, including the capture of the sun and moon, but learning that wonderful magic fetters were

being forged for her from which she could not escape, and finding that at last the heroes could doom her to perpetual confinement, she released the sun and moon from their captivity and returned to her Northland home, leaving Wainamoinen and Ilmarinen masters of the situation.

The Mariatta story, which follows immediately upon the final defeat of Louhi, tells of a maiden, spotlessly pure and wondrously beautiful, who one day, standing beneath the rowan tree, heard a voice from the tree, and a berry craved to nestle in her bosom. Deeming no harm, she plucked the berry, and the spirit of the tree passing within her, she knew another life had come. Her parents, deeming her a daughter of shame, expelled her roughly, and when her time had come, no shelter could she find save a stable, wherein stood one of the steeds of Hisi, King of Terror. But the girl appealed to the steed for aid, and he wrapped her with his fiery breath until the numbness crept from out her limbs, and in the stable the child was born and vanished at the moment of birth.

The despairing mother traveled far, seeking news of her babe, until the sun led her to the child with songs of praise. The mother then desired the child brought up for baptism (this is a modern intrusion), but as he was of no parental lineage, questions were asked, and when Mariatta told her tale it was put for decision before the judges, of whom Wainamoinen was the chief. Wainamoinen gave his word against the child and ordered that he be slain by having his head dashed against a tree.

Then the two-weeks child began to sing of magic and revealed secrets of the world that no one, not even Wainamoinen, knew, and, moreover, told of happenings in the early life of the magician which he fain would have kept dark. The judges hastily declared that a child of such wondrous powers must be the child of some unusual birth, and avowed their belief that the Spirit of the World took the form of the rowan berry.

Wainamoinen knew and realized his time had come,

that the old was passing away and giving place to new. He called to him his famous copper boat, and declaring that he went to seek the Sampo and the wonderful harp that was made from the bones of the magic pike, sailed away toward the fiery sunset, singing as he went the "Lament of Wainamoinen." On he sailed to the lurid west, the glow growing deeper and deeper and the song fainter and fainter until the dusk fell, the night came and the light in the sky and the "Song of Wainamoinen" died away forever.

The Kalevipoeg, which may be called the national epic of Esthonia, contains the adventures of a mythical hero of gigantic size, who ruled over the country in the days of its independence and prosperity. There seems no reason to dissociate him from the Kullervo of the Finnish poem. The Kalevipoeg consists of twenty cantos and contains about nineteen thousand lines. The story truly differs in many important particulars from the Kalevala, but the meter and general character is similar, and the type of the adventures is after the same pattern. An excellent prose rendering of the Kalevipoeg is given in 'The Hero of Esthonia' by W. F. Kirby. It is not to be deemed of the same antiquity as the Kalevala, but should rank as one of the great national epics of Europe.

Russian Literature is singularly destitute of any one great epic work. Only one, 'The Word of Igor's Armament,' has survived from antiquity. "This precious relic," says Leo Wiener in his 'Anthology of Russian Literature,' "is not only interesting for its intrinsic poetical merit, permitting us to guess the possibilities of the Russian untutored mind before the introduction of the repressive Byzantinism, but it serves as a guide in redating much of the oral literature of the present day."

The poem tells the story of the expedition of Igor Soyatoslavich against the Polovtses. It is written in a gloomy key and returns again and again to a strain of melancholy, begun almost with the first words in the description of the

unfavorable omen of an eclipse. In all the disasters that follow reference is made to this eclipse, and not a little of the despairing speech of the soldiery lies in their realization of the worst of their forebodings. The battles open unfavorably, the Russians are defeated, the hero is captured and when, at the close of the poem, he makes his escape from prison, it is only to find his own province in a state of discontent and unrest.

The following passage, taken from the third section or canto of the poem, gives perhaps as clear a conception of the general style of the whole as any part that could be chosen:

"Igor leads his soldiers to the Don:
The birds in the thicket forbode his misfortune;
The wolves bristle up and howl a storm in the mountain clefts;
The eagles screech and call the beasts to a feast of bones;
The foxes bark for the crimson shields;
O Russian land, you are already beyond the mound!
Night is long and murky;
The Dawn withholds its light;
Mist covers the fields;
The nightingale's song is silent;
The cawing of crows is heard;
The Russians bar the long fields with their crimson shields;
Seeking honor for themselves and glory for the Prince."

The bridge between the saga and the epic of chivalry is found in such a work as Beowulf. While it has resemblance to Scandinavian mythic poetry, still it is vastly more direct, the style is not metaphorical, but simple, almost austere. Yet "the very silence of the poem is thunder, through it we hear the tread of the dragon." Its argu-

ment is most direct. Hrothgar, king of the Gar-Danes, built a splendid hall called Heorot, which he was never able to occupy because a monster from the fen, the dragon Grendel, broke into it a few nights after its completion and devoured thirty of the king's thanes. Beowulf, the hero of the Geats in Sweden, with fourteen companions sails across the sea. He is warmly welcomed by Hrothgar and takes his place in the hall. Grendel attacks the place and one of the defenders is slain, but Beowulf mortally wounds the monster, tearing out his arm. The next night the monster's co-mate comes up out of the fen and Beowulf slays that dragon also. A third dragon, fifty years later, is encountered at his home in Sweden, but he is slain himself in ridding his country of that danger.

The importance of the poem is ably stated by Geo. Saintsbury. He says in his 'Short History of English Literature,' "If we take into consideration the fact that Beowulf is the very oldest poem in the language, that it has no known predecessors and has the whole literature of romance for its successors, it is seen that it is a very venerable document indeed, well worth the envy of the nations to whom it does not belong. Even if it were no older than its M.S., Beowulf would be the senior of the Chanson de Roland by nearly a century, the Poema del Cid by two, the Nibelungen Lied by three. In reality it is elder of the eldest of these by half a millennium. Some of those who love England least have been fain to admit that we have the best poetry in Europe. It is thanks mainly to Beowulf that our poetry can claim the oldest lineage and poetical coat armor from the very first."

CHAPTER VIII

THE EPICS OF CHIVALRY

THE word "Chivalry" brings to mind far other thoughts than the rude nothern sagas presented. Courtliness, devotion, efflorescence of speech and an overpowering sense of personal dignity appear as striking characteristics, and while 'knighthood' as such now seems in retrospect artificial and stilted, it must be remembered that such a figure as the Chevalier Bayard, "sans peur et sans reproche," was rightly little less than a demigod in a time when all save the knights were so brutish and so ignorant. The two great cycles of Chivalry were the Carlovingian (Charlemagne) and the Arthurian, of which the former took definite shape the earlier. The most notable product of the Carlovingian cycle is the Chanson de Roland.

The Chanson de Roland, or Song of Roland, which is the most famous and the most beautiful of the Chansons de Geste (Songs of Great Deeds) of France, was written late in the eleventh or early in the twelfth century. It is but one of the many romances that circled about Charlemagne and his twelve peers of paladins, of whom the chief was Roland. They were sung by the trouveres, and while a few might have been in manuscript copies, undoubtedly the larger number were transmitted orally. The copy of the Chanson de Roland in the Bodleian Library at Oxford evidently was such a manuscript. It has a peculiar interest to the English race, by reason of its relation to the battle of Hastings. It appears that a cer-

tain warlike minstrel by name Taillefer (Cleave-Iron) begged of Duke William the privilege of striking the first blow at the English. The boon was granted, and Taillefer, bearing harp and sword, singing this very Chanson de Roland, rode singly to the English line, where he fought bravely until he was slain.

Not the least curious feature of the Charlemagne cycle is that the chiefest part of it is not the record of a success but of a failure; it is not a song of victory but of a disaster. Certainly nothing stranger could appear in history than that a conqueror should be immortalized by one of

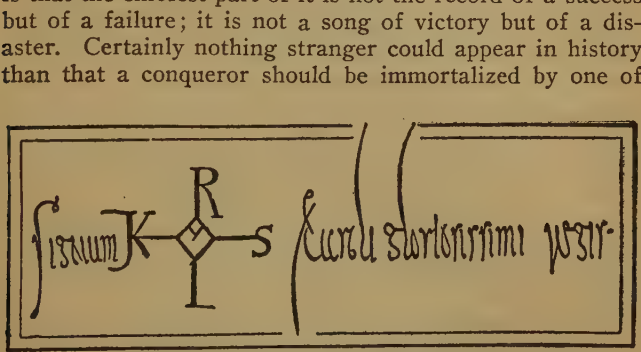


Fig. 28 —Signature of Charlemagne.

the few most utter reverses his arms had ever sustained. Charlemagne, at a time when a large part of Europe was under his hand, turned covetous eyes to Spain, and after a five years' campaign the Moorish governor of Saragossa led him to believe that the city could be captured. Charlemagne acted on the hint and besieged the town. After nine months, on the payment of a large sum in gold, however, Charlemagne raised the siege and returned through the Pyrenees to France. He left a strong army, under Roland, to guard the rear of the main force.

On the return, however, an army whom tradition declared to have been Moors led by Basque guides, ambushed the rear guard in a small defile at Roncesvalles and overwhelmed them. Three of the Paladins—Roland, Olivier

and Archbishop Turpin—were with this group. Olivier, who was brave but prudent, advised Roland to blow his horn as soon as the dilemma was observed, but Roland, in a foolhardy manner refused, deeming themselves able to win through alive. The battle waged furiously, but the odds were overpowering and at last none remained alive but the three Paladins.

On seeing their dire plight and noting that Olivier was wounded, Roland became willing to wind the horn, but this time Olivier objected, for the reason that Charlemagne could reach them in time to save them, and since there was no hope of turning the day, they might as well die without having had the shame of calling for help. But Archbishop Turpin came up to stop the quarrel between the two knights. He blamed Roland for his recklessness in not having summoned help before in time to prevent defeat, but urged him to do so now, not in the hope of help but merely that their bodies might be given Christian burial and that their deaths should be revenged.

Roland blew the horn so that it was heard by the main army, many miles away. Charlemagne was for turning immediately, but Ganelon, who hated Roland and who treacherously had laid the trap of the ambush into which Roland had fallen, declared that the emperor must have been mistaken, for Roland would never lower his pride to call for aid. But the horn was heard again, very faintly, and Charlemagne, who had long suspected Ganelon, ordered him bound, and rode back.

The three Paladins had stood long against the host until Olivier was thrust through the back by a foul lance-thrust from a Saracen leader. Seeing him wounded, Roland, half fainting with grief, rode to his side, and Olivier, blinded and not seeing who was coming, with a dying stroke smote Roland, wounding him sorely. A moment after Olivier died.

Roland, despite his wound, rode to the side of Archbishop Turpin, who had fought gallantly, but whose

strength was nearly spent. Still the fight raged on, tho four hundred men slain lay around the archbishop, till human power could do no more, and despite the aid of Roland, the militant churchman fell at the point of death. Covering his comrade with his shield, Roland with his single blade beat back the host confronting him until the archbishop died and he was left alone, tho he had received his death blow and was all but gone.

Roland staggered to a rock and thrice tried to shatter his blade upon it that the Paynim might not have the trophy, but the blade remained undented and he fell, still holding it. For some time none dared approach the dying Paladin, till at last a Moor came near and wrenched the sword from the rigid grasp. A last flicker of life leapt in the exhausted frame, and summoning strength, Roland brought his heavy, gem-studded horn on the Saracen's skull, crushing it in. As he did so he heard the trumpets of the army and staggered to his feet in welcome just as the force came crashing down the slope, but fell headlong, dead, before his comrades reached him. Fell was the slaughter which followed, for filled with fury Charlemagne hurled his troops upon the entire countryside and left not a Moor alive in the province to tell the tale.

The great national epic of England unquestionably is the Arthurian cycle, for King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table seem to be regarded with a sense of possession such as no other English poems educe. "For nearly a thousand years," says Richard Jones, "the Arthurian legends have furnished unlimited literary material, not to English poets alone but to all Christendom. These Celtic romances, having their birthplace in Brittany and Wales, had been growing and changing for some centuries before the fanciful 'Historia Bretonum' of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bishop of St. Asaph, flushed them with color and endued them with new life."

The Arthurian Epic is composed of five separate and widely distinct cycles, which seem to have remained apart for many centuries. These were as follows: (1) The Merlin cycle, wherein Arthur and Guinevere appear, but in which all the importance is assigned to Merlin, Arthur merely being a chieftain of some importance in Wales. (2) The Round Table Cycle, which is markedly different in every particular from the Merlin cycle, the Welsh being primitive and barbarous and the Round Table being chivalric. (3) The Holy Grail cycle, which, in its origin had nothing whatever to do with knights or even with the Quest, but was purely a religious tale to emphasize the teaching of the Real Presence. (4) The Launcelot cycle, which had its origin in the Norman trouveres and which may have been purely fantastic, or at least the figure from whom it is drawn is unknown. (5) The Tristram cycle, which again is old and barbarous, but seems to be a Cornish legend not known till later times in Wales and Brittany. It is one of the older cycles.

Owing to the manner in which these tales and legends were told, it was unavoidable that a certain confusion should arise, and often for the sake of continuity the adventures of the one knight would be engrafted on the other and the whole gradually would be made to conform more and more to the growing sense of chivalry, so that even barbarous stories would begin to possess the knightly gloss. Then in 1145 the fluent bishop put out the 'Historia,' wherein he had worked these various legends and cycles into a certain whole, taking for his central theme the Merlin saga and for his basis of unity the idealized conception of Arthur, who as a popular leader of the Celts against the Saxons had been handed down to posterity as a mighty leader. "The figure of Arthur," says Ten Brink, "now stood forth in very brilliant light, a chivalrous king and hero, endowed and guarded by supernatural powers, surrounded by brave warriors and a splendid court, a man of marvelous life and a brave death."

Robert Wace immediately translated the Latin 'Historia Bretonum' into French, but included in it a full form of the Round Table legend, making King Arthur the founder of knighthood. It is readily seen what a wonderful advance this would be in the history of the tale. Knighthood was almost a religion at this time and other than Charlemagne and his twelve peers, it seemed to have no originator. So that the conception of Arthur and his Table Round met instant favor. Layamon in his 'Brut d'Angleterre' reproduced Wace, his version indeed being set forth as no more than a translation. But aside from its philological interest, Layamon made some marked changes in the Arthurian legend, especially in his enlarging those portions of it which dealt with the Holy Grail. It remained for Walter Map to give the one touch that was needed to accord a due perspective to the whole.

The legends were discursive and vague, but they had within the roots of noble things. This Walter Map saw, and being a priest, he determined to carry out in the form of these legends the teaching of the Church. It was just at the time of the Trans-substantiation argument, and the Holy Grail story, with which Map as an ecclesiastic would be thoroly familiar, afforded him the very means he sought. When the great stories of courts and people could be so arranged as to make it appear that the whole order and glory of Christian chivalry was devoted on a Quest which constantly kept before their eyes the Holy Grail and the Real Presence, it made a teaching in parable which nothing could have bettered.

"At that day," points out S. Humphreys Gurteen, "no one knew whence Arthur came, what the Round Table meant, how Merlin was able to predict so much and how Lancelot and Tristram grew to be so strong." So Map, who, as has been said, was a poet-priest, determined that where so many miracles were happening religion must be called in to give them reason—it would not be wise to allow the idea to spread that miracles could come save by

the orthodox channels—and true ideals must be connected with spiritual subjects.

One of the Apochryphal gospels mentioned the Cup, the Holy Cup which had been used at the Last Supper, and tradition told that Joseph of Arimathea had brought this to England, together with one of the thorns from the Crown of Thorns, which planted at Glastonbury had grown. (It is not generally known that a slip from the veritable old Glastonbury Thorn is growing in the gardens of the Cathedral at Washington, D. C.) Thus, by weaving together the finest legends of the people, by infusing them with the loftiest sentiments of chivalry and inspiring them with a fine spiritual purport, Map made his 'Roman de la Mort Artus' perhaps the first great popular work in England. Sir Thomas Mallory's 'Morte d'Arthur' is interesting and has been the basis for nearly all later work, but as compared with the earlier writer is badly done.

Aside from the great storehouse, Map's work, the Welsh Arthurian stories are found both in bardic and popular literature. Owen Jones, the rescuer of Welsh literary archeology, at the close of a long life of astonishing singleness of purpose produced in 1807 "The Mywyrian Archaiology of Wales." In this invaluable collection are the remains of the bards Llywarch Hen, Aneurin and Taliessin. As Gurteen says in 'The Arthurian Epic,' "Llywarch Hen, when a youth, served together with Geraint in the army under Arthur, and Aneurin was the grandson." The popular literature was collected or rather was translated by Lady Charlotte Guest, who set forth a collection of Mabinogion or Welsh Children's Stories, which are of immense importance in folk-lore and which bear an especial relation to the subject in hand for the reason that three of the stories therein retailed are portions of the old Arthurian romances.

The fifth cycle, that of the Tristram stories, has never worked in homogeneously into the Arthurian group, and indeed only seems to have been incorporated therewith in

earlier years because of a poem on the subject by Chretien de Troyes, which is now lost, and the admirable work in German by Gottfried von Strassburg. This extremely lengthy production is full and well told, but throughout its purport barbarous. Gottfried gives it the due color by making the passionate love of the two due to a magic potion, a point that Tennyson most lamentably overlooks, making his poem, "The Last Tournament," almost as disastrous to the spirit of this cycle as his Merlin and Vivian is to the Merlin cycle. An excellent piece of work called "Tristran in Brittany," by Lauriston Ward, catches the true spirit of the theme. "The essence of the story," says Howard Maynadier in his 'The Arthur of the English Poets,' "is that the love of Tristram and Iseult was great enough and steady enough to burn their guilt away. This it is which has made the wild Celtic tale of passion, immoral and barbarbous, into a love romance that is immortal."

It is to be deemed most regrettable that the great modern poet in his "Idylls of the King" should have, in two of the five cycles so greatly misrepresented them from their earlier and purer forms. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that in the earlier legend Vivian was a pure, fair girl who had won the heart of Merlin, who lived in the enchanted garden that Merlin had made for her, and that her only charm was the hold her winsome love had over the mighty sage, then in his youth. And in Tennyson's story of Tristram and Iseult he has made them lovers whose sin is that of gross desire rather than an irresistible impulsion under a magic draught.

It is the sadder when the superb beauty of King Arthur's last words to his repentant queen Guinevere, lying at his feet, are remembered. In the hands of so great a poet as Tennyson, what might not the old Arthurian epic had become, if instead of writing dainty verse about the Table Round, he had put all his splendid powers into an epic worthy of his name?

One of the finest developments of a part of the Arthurian epic, the Holy Grail, is the magnificent spiritual poem of Parzival by Wolfram von Eschenbach, who is but little short of a place of honor among the greatest poets of mankind. The poem was written between 1200 and 1215, and its power is in the highest degree surprising when the loftiness of the sentiments, the value of a spiritual faith, the setting aside of formalism are remembered. Not even Martin Luther himself had more truly the spirit of the reformer than Wolfram.

The story, of course, is well known, how the young Parzival is brought up in such innocence and purity, and being warned by an angel hermit not to ask too many questions in his youth, he chances to come to the Temple of the Holy Grail. There he sees the wondrous mystery, but asks no questions, not knowing that a spell is on the king, awaiting merely the query of an innocent boy to cast it off. He joins the Round Table, but is suddenly denounced there for his failure to realize the Holy Grail, and deeming himself unworthy, he renounces the knightly fellowship. His adventures all tending to promote humility, his repentance and at last his sincere trust in God cause him to be permitted to approach the temple again. He enters, sees the wondrous vision and asks the required question. Later he is made head of the knights of the Holy Grail, as is his son Lohengrin after him.

Bayard Taylor, in his 'Studies of German Literature,' gives an excellent description of the mental and moral characteristics of Wolfram. "The author's peculiar genius is manifested in every part of the poem," he says, "and thus the work has a spiritual coherence which distinguishes it from all other epics of the age. . . . I must confess that the more I study the poem, the more I find a spiritual meaning shining through its lines. The perfect innocence and purity of Parzival as a boy are wonderfully drawn; the doubts of his age of manhood, the wasted years, the trouble and gloom which brood over him suggest a large

background of earnest thought; and altho the symbolism of the Holy Grail may not be entirely clear, it means at least this much—that peace of soul comes only through faith and obedience."

The Ossian saga-cycle belongs within this group, but it is in truth not an epic, being but a collection of ballads. The battle between Finn McCoul (MacCuhhool) and Conn of a Hundred Battles is an incident, not a central theme, and even the theological utterances of St. Patrick will not bind all together. Yet fragments, like the Lament of Deirdru, are exceptionally fine.

The Borza-Briez of Brittany is not dissimilar. It is yet almost entirely unknown, but Hersort de la Villemarque is bringing it to the place of attention so richly deserved.

After the storminess of Beowulf and the monotonous fluency of Caedmon, it is as a wonderful effulgent visitant that Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400) appears upon the horizon. John Dryden's appreciation of him is worth quoting: "He must have been a man of a most wonderful comprehensive nature, because, as it has truly been observed of him, he has taken into the compass of his 'Canterbury Tales' the various manners and humours (as we now call them) of the whole English nation in his age. Not a single character has escaped him. All his pilgrims are severally distinguished from each other, and not only in their inclinations but in their very physiognomies and persons. The matter and the manner of their tales and of their telling are so suited to their different educations, humours and calling, that each of them would be improper in any other mouth." It is true doubtless that this delineation of Chaucer would read with better grace from Dryden had he not attempted to transliterate the 'Canterbury Tales' into eighteenth century English and mangled it in the attempt.

The essential vitality and dramatic note, however, is well sounded by John Richard Green in his 'History of the

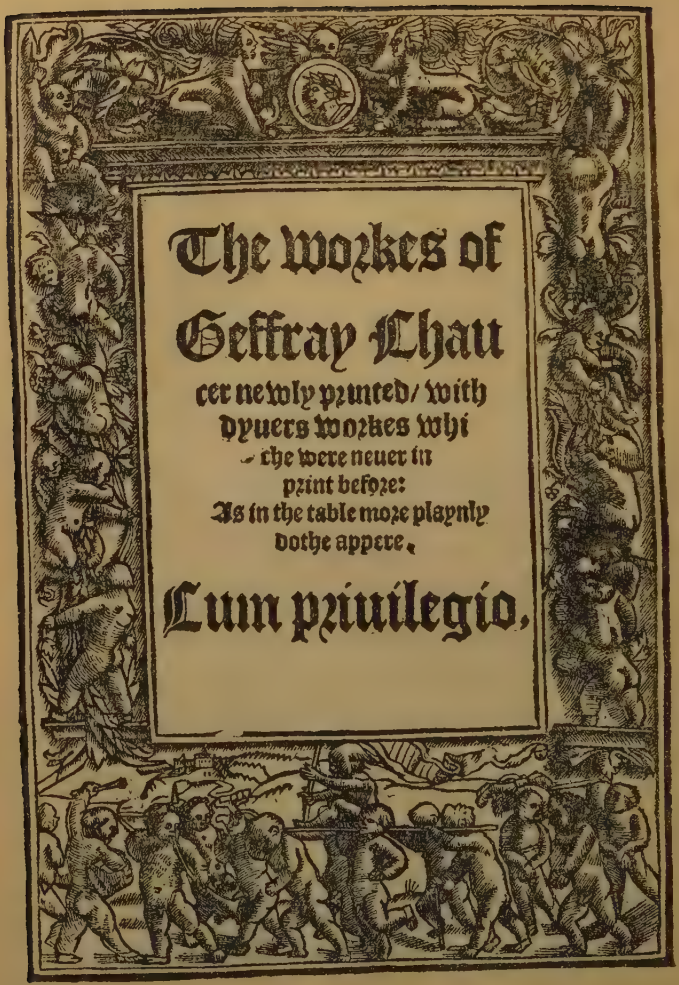


Fig. 29 —Title-page of Earliest Printed Edition Known of Chaucer's Works.

English People,' wherein he says, "No poetry was ever more human than Chaucer's; none ever came more frankly and genially home to men than his 'Canterbury Tales.' It is the first time in English poetry that we are brought face to face, not with characters or allegories or reminiscences of the past, but with living and breathing men, men distinct in temper and sentiment, as in face or costume or mode of speech; and with this distinctness of each maintained throughout the story by a thousand shades of expression and action. It is the first time, too, that we meet with the dramatic power which not only creates each character, but combines it with its fellows; which not only adjusts each tale or jest to the temper of the person who utters it, but fuses all into a poetic unity. It is life in its largeness, its variety, its complexity which surrounds us in the 'Canterbury Tales."

The 'Canterbury Tales' are set in a framework of very simple device. The Tabard Inn at Southwark, then an outlying suburb of London, was a great rendezvous for pilgrims who were journeying to the shrine of St. Thomas a Becket, at Canterbury—that Saxon archbishop who had been murdered by the minions of Henry II. A most diverse company is gathered, and as a substantial dinner smokes upon the Saxon-English board, mine host proposes that as they start upon their way the morning following, that each pilgrim shall tell two stories to relieve the tedium of the ride. The tales themselves constitute the rest, but the prologue, containing a description of those who sat that even at mine host's table, is the most precious passage of the whole. Among this list is found the true philosophy of the English society of that time. The temptation to name some of them is not to be resisted.

A KNIGHT ther was, and that a worthy man
That from the tyme that he ferst bigan
To ryden out, he lovede chyvalrie
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curtesie,

And of his port (deportment) as meyke as is a mayde.
He never yit no vilonye ne sayde
In al his lyf unto no maner wight.
He was a verray perfight gentil knight.

A Clerk ther was of Oxenforo also,
That into logik hadde longe i-go.
For him was lever have at his beddes heed
Twenty bookes, clothd in bleak and reed,
Of Aristotl, and of his philosophie
Then robus riche, or fithul or sawtrie (psaltery).

Ther was also a Doctour of Physik
In al this world ne was there non him lyk
To speke of physik and of surgerye;
For he was groundud in astronomye.
He knew the cause of every maladye,
Were it of cold, or hete; or moist or drye,
And where thei engendrid, and of what humour;
He was a verrey parfight practisour.
And yit he was but esy in dispence;
He kepte that he wan in pestilence.
For gold in physik is a cordial;
Therfore he lovede gold in special.

The great epic of Spain, the Poema del Cid, borrows its framework from the Chanson de Roland, and in point of time it antedates the completed Arthurian epic. Its authorship is doubtful, for the Per Abbat, who endeavors in the closing lines to convey the impression that he is the author of the whole, is but an intruder. The Cid, or Ruy Diaz de Bivar, appears on the pages of history at first merely as a free lance, a man who sold his sword to the highest bidder.

The Moorish king of Saragossa welcomed him warmly, and for eight years the Cid fought under the Moorish

banner against Moor and Christian alike. But he was keen enough to see that this could not long continue, and when the Moors began to threaten Spain as a whole, the Cid left Saragossa. He held the Moors back till his death, which occurred in 1099, and his widow, Ximena, held the city for three years longer. Then, seeing that further resistance would be impossible with the leader gone, she set fire to the city and retired, taking with her the body of the great warrior.

But it would not be fair to the mirror of Spanish chivalry to represent him only as a freebooter whose deeds struck the popular fancy. As J. Fitzmaurice Kelly points out in his 'Spanish Literature,' "he stood for the unity of the kingdom, for the supremacy of Castile over Leon, and his example proved that, against almost any odds, the Spaniards could hold their own against the Moors. In the long night between the disaster of Alarcos and the crowning triumph of Navas de Tolosa the Cid's figure grew glorious as that of a man who had never despaired of his country, and in the hour of victory the legend of his inspiration was not forgotten."

The inner spirit of chivalry reaches its highest exponence in Edmund Spenser's "The Faerie Queene" (1585). It is its loftiest note, its apotheosis, beatified by a consummate artist and poet of transcendent genius, who in his heart inhabited the magical and shadowy land from which men were daily drawing further and further away. For him magicians work manifold charms; enchanted palaces display their most wonderful festivities; tilt-yards provide interminable tournaments, sea-gods, nymphs, fairies, kings intermingle in these feasts, surprises, dangers. If it be a fantasmagoria, Spenser finds himself so thoroly at home in this world that the reader is there too. There is no note of astonishment at any supernal event. The gods and goddesses of Pagan Olympus are framed to seem akin to Christian chivalry, and discrepancies and ana-

chronisms disappear as such under the witchery of the incomparable beauty of the glamour of his world of Faerie.

"The delicate fancies of the old Welsh poetry," says H. A. Taine in his 'History of English Literature,' whose keen Gallic intuition has grasped Spenser more clearly than any English writer, "the grand ruins of the German epics, the marvelous splendors of the conquered East, all the recollections which four centuries of adventure had scattered among the minds of men had been gathered into one great dream; and giants, dwarfs, monsters, the whole medley of imaginary creatures, of superhuman exploits and splendid follies, were grouped around a unique conception, exalted and sublime love, like courtiers prostrated at the feet of a king. It was an ample and buoyant subject-matter from which the great artists of the age—Ariosto, Tasso, Cervantes, Rabelais—had hewn their poems. Spenser alone takes it seriously and naturally. He is on the level of so much nobleness, dignity, reverie. He is not yet settled and shut in by that species of exact common sense which was to found and cramp the whole modern civilization."

But it would be unjust to the poet to present it merely as an effort of literary beauty. It is designed to "present the image of a brave knight perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised." Only six of the twelve books were written, portraying respectively the adventures of the Knights of Holiness, of Temperance, of Chastity, of Friendship, of Justice and of Courtesy. The adventures of these, of course, are with personified temptations and sins, and one of the most gripping passages in the entire work is his description of the "seven deadly sins."

"But this (her coach) was drawne of six unequall beasts
On which her six sage Counsellors did ryde,
Taught to obey their bestiall beheasts,

With like conditions to their kinds applyde.
Of which the first, that all the rest did guyde,
Was sluggish IDLENESSE, the nourse of Sin;
Upon a slouthful Asse he chose to ryde,
Arayd in habit black, and amis thin,
Like to a holy Monck, the seruice to begin.

And greedye AUARICE by him did ryde
Upon a Camell loaden all with gold,
Two iron coffers hong on either syde,
With precious metall full as they might hold,
And in his lap an heape of coine he told,
For of his wicked pelfe his God he made,
And unto hell himselfe for money sold.
Accursed usurie was all his trade,
And right and wrong ylike in equall ballaunce waide.

And next to him malicious ENUIE rode (Envy)
Upon a rauenous Wolf, and still did chaw
Betweene his cankred teeth a venemous tode (toad)
That all the poison ran about his chaw;
But inwardly he chawen his own maw
At neighbour's wealth, that made him ever sad;
For death it was when any good he saw,
And wept, that cause of weeping none he had,
But when he heard of harme, he wexed wondrous glad.

The allegorical nature of the work should be touched on that the reader may gleam an idea of the motive of the author. "In the First Book," says Henry Coppee in his interpretative 'English Literature,' "we are at once struck with the fine portraiture of the Red Crosse Knight, the Patron of Holinesse, St. George of England, whose red-cross banner distinguishes her among the nations of the earth. Then follows the adventure—that of St. George and the Dragon. By slaying this monster he will give aid to a fair lady, Una, who riding upon a lowly ass, shrouded by a veil, covered with a black stole 'as one that inly

mourned' and leading a milk-white lamb, is the Church." Then follows a battle with a loathsome serpent in the 'Wood of Error.'

"On leaving the Wood of Error, the knight and Lady Una encounter a venerable hermit, and are led into his hermitage. This is Archimago, a vile magician thus disguised, and is designed to present the monastic system, the disfavor into which the monasteries had fallen and the black arts secretly studied among the better arts in the cloisters. In this Archimago's retreat foul spirits impersonate both knight and lady and present these false doubles to each. Each sees what seems to be the other's fall from virtue, and, horrified by the sight, the real persons leave the hermitage by separate ways and wander, in inextricable mazes lost, until fortune and faery bring them together again and disclose the truth."

The union of the religious and the chivalric in Spenser leads naturally to the Epic of the Crusades, the 'Jerusalem Delivered' of Torquato Tasso (1544), which ranks as one of the finest artificial epics in literature. "Altho an artificial, it is in a sense a national epic," says Richard Garnett in his 'Italian Literature.' "Catholicism was putting forth its utmost strength to drive back the Ottoman and the heretic, and altho, when Tasso began his 'Jerusalem,' he could have foreseen neither Lepanto nor the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, it is a remarkable instance of the harmony which pervades all human affairs that both should have happened ere he had completed it. Had either been the subject of his poem, the result would have been failure, but the great theme of the Crusades exhibits the dominant thought of his own day exalted to a commanding elevation, purged of all contemporary littleness, transfigured in the radiance of piety and history."

Of a later date, but belonging here because it was not affected by the lowering of the standard of chivalry too far, is 'The Lusiads' of Luis Vas de Camoens (1524-1580).

While the epic deals mainly with the discovery of the way to the East Indies by Vasco de Gama, it has as its hero the whole Portuguese nation.

The 'Morgante Maggiore' of Luigi Pulci (1432-1487) occupies a curious place in the epic literature of Europe. Its inexplicable mixture of religion and buffoonery, of noble aspiration and mocking frivolity, leads to the supposition that it was designed to be the beginning of burlesque. It has a noble theme. Orlando (Roland), standing alone on the battle ground at Roncesvalles, with all his friends slain, is visited by the Angel Gabriel, who promises to make him captain of an invincible host, a boon refused, as Orlando does not wish to live with his companions gone.

Almost in the same year as the publication of the 'Morgante Maggiore' appeared part of a much greater work, the 'Orlando Innamorato' of Matteo Maria Boiardo (1434-1494). The story seems original, tho the heroes are Orlando and Rinaldo, but while there is a great deal of movement, a maze of adventures, magic piled upon magic and surprises galore, a purposeful central theme is lacking.

Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533), who wrote the famous 'Orlando Furioso' as a sequel to Boiardo's poem, produced a finer but more complex work. With the 'Morgante Maggiore' not far in the background, the hint of the burlesque could not be omitted, and it appears in the madness of Orlando, in Astolfo's flight to the moon in search of Orlando's brains, in the abode of discord among the monks and such passages which are, none the less, among the most characteristic of Ariosto's work.

The burlesque of chivalry thus begun had its deathknell sounded by Cervantes. Thereafter epics might be contrived, but they would be archaisms, and heroic deeds could not be told of characters who had been associated with ridicule; besides greater and deeper notes were in vibration and Italy and England became athrob with the writing of the two supernal matters of Epic Song.

CHAPTER IX

DANTE AND MILTON

Two great figures stand apart, singularly alike in many ways, the crowned emperors of Religious Epic Poetry—Dante and Milton. The vague and shadowy form of Homer may appear beside them, but others there are none; poets and prophets, singers and seers, so high they stand that the finitude of all others makes them appear—one had almost said—divine. The Holy Spirit of Pure Greatness had descended upon each of them, and it is scarce conceivable that a time will ever come when the Divina Commedia and the Paradise Lost can fail to inspire the minds of this world's noblest souls. Milton records history, while Dante sets forth a revelation; the Puritan submerges his personality, the Florentine emphasizes it. Dante is the only one of the great poets who has dared to make himself the hero of his poem, and he has done so with a magnificent unconsciousness because of his ability to lose himself in his love for Beatrice.

This love for Beatrice, a purely spiritual love, tho Beatrice de Portinari lived in flesh and blood, is not the least amazing of the characteristics of the man. Dante and his beloved were mere children when he first saw her, each nine years old, and there is no reason to suppose that his devotion ever had any effect upon her. The Vita Nuova, which is the record of his attachment to Beatrice, is a dithyrambic of purely platonic adoration which stands alone in the world's literature.

The Divina Commedia originally was intended to be a further glorification of Beatrice. After she was in Paradise he writes, "After this sonnet there appeared to me a wondrous vision, wherein I beheld things which made me resolve to say no more concerning my Blest One until I could treat of her more worthily." Thus the great poet intended to depict Heaven as a setting for his beloved Beatrice. It is typical, however, of the man that he would not feel himself worthy to approach even in mind the Paradise wherein she dwelt until he himself had passed through the two intervening worlds of the Inferno and the Purgatorio, and while it cannot truly be said that Beatrice is the heroine of the Divina Commedia, she is its inspiration. To her gracious presence and her early death, therefore, are due one of the greatest epics of the world.

This marvelous work describes, in one hundred cantos, a vision of the three Catholic worlds of the dead—Hell, Purgatory and Heaven—allotting, besides an introductory canto, thirty-three cantos to each. In politics Dante is at once a worshipper of freedom and a Ghibelline or enemy of the popedom; in religion he is by turns a scholastic disputer, an adoring mystic, a stern reproacher of ecclesiastical vices. Its ruling poetical character is that of stern sublimity; abrupt, concentrated; never vague, tho often wild; sometimes melting into overflowing tenderness and everywhere seen through a cloud of imagery, whose shapes are sketched with astonishing brevity, yet with unexcelled picturesqueness.

The first canto, introductory to the whole work, describes the circumstances in which the supposed vision presented itself. The poet, in the year 1300 loses his way by night in a gloomy, mountainous wood. At daybreak his path is obstructed by three beasts of prey, from whom he is rescued by the figure of a man who is hoarse as if by reason of long silence. The protector, declaring himself to be Virgil, offers to guide his pupil through the world of shadows.

In the second canto, which is properly the opening of the Inferno, or first division, the two pilgrims commence their mysterious journey. Virgil informs Dante that, in the limbo where he, with other virtuous heathens, reposed, he had been accosted by a beautiful maiden, descending from the bowers of the blest, who had ordered him to succor the friend who loved her. The third canto opens abruptly with the terrible words of the celebrated inscription. The poet's eye is caught by it as he looks up to a gate which faces him, the entrance to the place of punishment. Virgil stretches out his hand to him, and they enter the unblest abode. They are in the region appropriated to those, both men and angels, who have lived without infamy, yet without praise; those who have neither stood nor fallen. The adventurers next reach a gloomy river, which shuts in the everlasting prison, where, while the grim ferryman refuses to convey them across, the ground shakes and a wind rises from its bosom, through which flash a red light. Dante falls in a swoon, and, awakened by a clap of thunder, finds himself transported to the other side of the flood, and gazing down into the dark abyss, from which ascend cries of agony.

The poet figures his hell as consisting of nine concentric circles, one below another, converging like the steps of an amphitheater or the interior of a hollow cone, and terminating in the center of the earth. The poets are already in the first or uppermost circle, in which, not tormented, but grieving with eternal sighs, are the souls of the heathen, of infants and the rest of the unbaptized. From a bright illumination shining through the gloomy crowd there approach to salute Virgil four honored shades, Homer, Horace, Ovid and Lucan, who admit Dante as a sixth into "that famous company." In a fresh green meadow, surrounded by a sevenfold fortification and a moat, are the souls of antique heroes and sages.

From the quiet of this circle Virgil and his pupil descend into the second, where the actual torments of hell

commence. Minos, transformed by the Florentine poet, like the other pagan deities, into a strange and grisly shape, sits at the entrance of the circle and assigns to the condemned spirits their places according to the measure of their guilt, the worst crimes being sunk deepest. This region, deprived of light, is agitated like a sea by winds incessantly crossing each other and wafting with them shrieks and sobs. It is the place of eternal sinners, among whom the pilgrim first beholds, hurried backward and forward by the tempest, Semiramis, Dido, Cleopatra, Helen, Achilles, Paris and the knight Tristram. After these comes the group in which the poet's pathos has been so justly admired, that of Francesca da Polenta (the daughter of his protector Guido) and her lover, Paolo di Malatesta of Rimini. Neither description nor translation can convey the broken-hearted tenderness which breathes through this tale of guilty love more guiltily avenged, of love stronger than death and lasting as its own eternal punishment. While the two condemned shades weep before him, Dante faints with compassion.

On recovering, he finds himself in the third circle, where the gluttonous, tormented by a demon named Cerberus, lie amid icy mud, while incessant hail and rain pour down on them. In the fourth circle the avaricious and prodigal, doomed to the same punishment, are violently driven against each other by incessant gusts of wind. On the edge of this region there boils up a black fountain, discharging its waters into the fifth circle, where it forms the River Styx, amid the mud of which lie, naked and struggling, the souls of those whose master-sin was anger.

A bark, rowed by a demon, conveys the voyagers across the stagnant expanse, beyond which rise iron walls and fiery towers, like the minarets of mosques, from whose battlements numberless fiends, headed by the furies, oppose the entrance of any living man. These fortifications shut in the city of Dis, which includes the four remaining circles of punishment, forming a deeper hell within hell

itself. The sixth circle, the first of these inner ones, is an immense plain covered with tombs, around each of which flicker raging flames and from beneath the lifted covers issue loud lamentations, being the place of punishment for the great leaders of heresy.

Within this field of graves yawns a horrible and pestilential gulf, containing the last three circles, respectively appropriated to those who have sinned by violence, by fraud and by treachery. The seventh circle, guarded by the Minotaur and by Centaurs, is fenced with a river of blood. In the gory stream are punished those who were guilty of outrage against mankind by practicing tyranny or cruelty, and among them are named Alexander the Great, Dionysius, Eccelino and Attila. In the second division of this region, beyond the river, those who have been, by suicide, guilty of violence toward themselves, are converted into trees with knotty trunks and dark leaves, bearing, instead of fruit, prickles and poison, and perched on by the hideous harpies. Within a ring formed by this spectral forest is a sandy plain, on which are scattered naked shadows of men and women rebellious against God, tormented by flakes of fire which rain slowly on them.

The rocks which bound the seventh circle descend in tremendous precipices to the next one, and the river falls in an awful cataract. A huge fiend, poising himself in the thick and lurid air, sinks with Dante and Virgil along the face of the cataract and deposits them at the foot of the cliff, amid the cries and fiery glare of the eighth circle. Here are the deceivers of women, who are constantly chased and lashed by devils, and flatterers, whose punishment is truly medieval. Those who have committed simony or ecclesiastical fraud are plunged head foremost into burning aperatures, next to the wizards, who have their heads twisted round to their backs. Those who have committed malversation in office are plunged into a lake of boiling pitch, beside which the hypocrites walk without ceasing in slow procession, clothed in ponderous leaden ca-

potes, gilded outside. Thieves are continually pursued and devoured by serpents, which, themselves condemned souls, no sooner destroy their victims than they change bodies with them.

The pilgrims move on in silence through a thick darkness and a giant, Antæus, lifts both travelers with one hand, stoops with them and sets them down at his feet. They are now in the ninth and lowest circle of hell, a wintry lake, where, in four divisions, traitors are entombed in ice up to the neck, shedding tears which freeze on their faces as they fall. In the first division, called Caïna, are treacherous assassins, among them Charlemagne's betrayer, Ganelon, and Mordred, King Arthur's parricidal son or nephew; the second sphere, called Antenora, imprisons those who have betrayed their country. In Ptolomea, the third icy region, are those who have betrayed their benefactors, and a similar class of sinners is found in the fourth, called Giudecca from its chief culprit, Judas Iscariot. In this last sphere the condemned lie beneath the ice, silent and motionless like images, while over them wave the six wings of Lucifer, a terrific giant, buried up to the middle in the frozen mass that fills the central chasm of the earth.

The first nine cantos of the Purgatorio are the most attractive. The scene of the action is a lofty mountain, and around its base, which the wanderers first reach on issuing from the gulf, lie valleys, waters and plains, among which linger the souls of the indolent and other spirits not yet permitted to commence their course of purification. On approaching this spot, and at the very opening of the poem, Dante breaks out into a burst of rapturous delight, which clothes every object around him with celestial lovelines. Cato of Utica conducts the travelers through this first region. An angel guides across the sea a bark filled with human souls, who are on their way to the place of expiation, and chant the psalm of the Israelites released from bondage. After several other scenes and appari-

tions, the gates which enclose the mount open like thunder; the two pilgrims enter.

The sides of the mountain, which have been now reached, compose Purgatory proper. They are divided into seven successive terraces, on each of which one of the seven deadly sins is expiated by a symbolical but corporeal punishment. The sufferers are sad, but sad with hope, and ever and anon the top of the sacred hill trembles, and thence resounds the hymn of the Gloria in excelsis Deo, sung by the guardian spirits of the place when they dismiss a purified soul to the bliss of heaven. On the summit, to which the adventurers issue through a wall of flame, is the earthly Paradise; and upon its verge Dante lies a whole night, gazing at the stars and beholding a vision of the young Leah, the symbol, in the Middle Ages, of the active life, as Rachel was of the contemplative. In the last six cantos, amid the sylvan scenery of Eden, allegorical spectacles illustrate the glory of the Church, and, from a cloud of flowers scattered by angels, Beatrice, the minstrel's early idol, the inspirer of his song and identified in his soul with religion, his highest study, descends to conduct her lover to the bowers of heaven.

In the Paradiso, Dante and Beatrice, mystically raised by the mere force of aspiration, are borne from planet to planet, contemplating the happiness of the elect, discussing points of faith, and at last, in the sun, witnessing a disclosure of the divine glory, in the midst of which the poet breaks off, unable to bear, far less to describe, the entrancing majesty of the revelation.

Since the famous paraphrase of Scripture by Caedmon was familiar to Milton, it requires at least a mention before passing on the work of the greatest English poet. Caedmon (680) was a monk of Whitby, who was unable to improvise stories from the Bible and the legends of the saints as his brothers in the monastery could do, until an angel touched him upon the lips and bade him sing, and when he asked whereon he should give voice was bidden sing "The

Creation," at which he found himself dowered with a gift of song and made a paraphrase of the Scripture. It is truly a paraphrase, for the old Saxon poet injects enough of himself and of his times into the song to give it original worth. He has been called "The Milton of our forefathers."

But, in verity, there is but the one John Milton (1688-1774), the author of what—if not the most original—is one of the most sublime and complete poems ever written. Its truest measure is the manner in which certain of its conceptions have usurped those of the Scripture. The modern idea of Adam and Eve is not the primal pair of Genesis, but the lovers in gentle dalliance of Paradise Lost; and since the days of the great Puritan poet the grotesque malignant spirit of the Bible has vanished and the modern idea of the devil is the magnificent fallen Lucifer, who not only dared rebellion against God, but even after his fall set himself in opposition to Omnipotence with the phrase, "Better to rule in Hell than serve in Heaven."

Paradise Lost begins with the picture of Satan and his angels having fallen from Heaven, lying in a place of utter darkness fitly called Chaos. After a period of utter consternation Satan arose, addressed himself to his colleagues lying prone on the burning lake, and as one by one the chiefs of the fallen angels answered to his call, he consulted them as to their future course. The angel legions were then aroused from the stupor of their defeat, and rank by rank, in all their thousands, the hosts fell into array. Satan, in stinging phrase, pointed out to these that all was not lost because Heaven was denied and sought to awake their vengeance. At his command a mighty palace called Pandemonium reared its towering walls and there the infernal peers held council.

Whether the battle was to be resumed immediately was broached and much debate ensued, the various fiends advising for or against warfare as their characters preferred,

but to forestall ignoble peace Satan informed them of the report that God had made another world and set in it beings inferior to themselves who afterward were to be raised to a plane more eminent. The Chief of Hell himself announced his determination to learn the truth of this, and tho stopped at the mouth of the infernal pit by Sin and Death, he cuased the horrid gates to gape asunder.

The Father then, speaking to the Son, pointed out Satan, who was seen flying toward the world, told him that the Tempter would succeed in his perverting quest and foreshadowed the methods of redemption. Satan meanwhile landed on the earth, observed Adam and Eve, then after flew to the Sun. He changed himself to appear as one of the lesser angels and asked the Archangel Uriel, the guardian of the Sun, the purpose of God with regard to the new beings on the earth. This learned, he flew to earth again.

Not little time lost Satan in seeking Paradise, and arrived there, he leapt the bounds that had been placed and perched himself as a cormorant in the Tree of Life overlooking the garden. When night came, changed to a toad, he squatted in the primal bower, whispering foul thoughts into the ear of Eve; but Uriel, who had noted his flight and had observed from the passions that distorted his visage that his mission could not be righteous, sent two angels to search him out. They touched the toad with a heavenly spear and forthwith up started, in his grisly shape, the Fiend. The divine messengers threatened to give battle, altho they feared the one time great archangel, but a sign from Heaven interposed and the fallen Lucifer fled in dismay.

The while that Satan, as a toad, had perched at Eve's side, she dreamed of disobedience, that the fruit of the forbidden tree was sweet and that she had but smelt the savor of a fruit an angel plucked and gave her and happiness accrued. In order to give man no excuse, God sent Raphael to warn them of Satan, told of the war in Heaven

and how the issue remained undecided for two whole days, until the Son with his chariot and thunder driving in the midst of his enemies shattered them, pursued them, unable to resist, to the wall of Heaven and forced them to hurl themselves into the unknown Deep.

That night Satan entered into the body of the sleeping serpent and endued him with all his evil powers. In the morning Adam and Eve went forth to perform their various tasks and Eve suggested their laboring a little apart, altho Adam warned her that a foe was abroad and did not deem it safe. But the thought that he should think her unable to repel such a foe made her all the more determined to go apart and await the issue. The serpent approached her, not long after she was left alone, and began to speak. Eve, astonished at his power of speech and reason, asked him how it came about that he alone of the creatures of the field was thus dowered. The wily serpent replied that it was not always so, but that he had partaken of the fruit of a certain tree and it had given him wisdom above all other creatures. The tempter implied that if it had done so much for him, the result might be even more marvelous for Eve. When they reached the tree, however, the serpent leading the way, Eve drew back and refused to touch it, but with wiles and arguments the serpent overbore her protests and she tasted. The fruit seemed so pleasing that she ate largely, then sought Adam, told him of the trespass and carried some of the fruit. He was horror-stricken, but rather than allow her to suffer alone, took the fruit himself to share with her whatever fate should come.

No sooner was the transgression accomplished than the guardian angels flew to Heaven, but the Almighty declared that the entrance of Satan could not have been prevented by them. The Son was sent to adjudge Adam and Eve and to give the doom and Satan flew back to Hell. He met Sin and Death building a bridge from Hell to earth, and arriving in Pandemonium, began to boast of his success,

when he and all his hosts were turned into hissing serpents.

Repentant in every degree, the first parents of mankind sent up prayers for forgiveness and for aid. Michael was sent down with Cherubim to drive them forth from the garden they had forfeited, but to break the harsh decree by a renewal of the promise. The twelfth and last book of the poem is a prophecy by Michael. He showed the future until the coming of Christ, His birth, His death, His resurrection and the state of the Church until His second coming. Greatly comforted by these words, Adam and Eve prepared to leave the garden. Michael then led them forth from Paradise, leaving the Cherubim behind. So "hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow, through Eden took their solitary way.

Almost it had been better had Milton not written a "Paradise Regained." Beauties it does contain, but it is false in conception and inadequate in treatment. The execution is superb, the mechanism unfortunate. Dante is narrow in a thousand ways, but he was at least as broad as his age. Milton's "Paradise Regained" is narrow with the narrowest of his time.

Since "Paradise Lost" no great epic has arisen, tho much has been written in the epic style. In Poland's cry for freedom occurred an opportunity, but the man, Sigismund Krasinski (1812-1859), was not great enough. Even his "Iridion" fails to arouse more than a passing interest, and his lesser work is as naught. A great theme unwritten is the Shogunate of Japan, and Samoa and Tahiti yet of their legends may educe a Polynesian Homer. The Great European War may bring to light some genius who will enshrine it in imperishable verse, but probably not until it has fallen back to history's perspective.

CHAPTER X

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DRAMA

THE dramatic sense differs in many ways from that of the epic. Some great poets, of whom Goethe is the greatest, wrote dramas without being dramatists, and their works live in spite of them; but save a few such exceptions, the drama is not dependent upon poesy but upon action, and—to use a modern phrase—"to put over the footlights" some subtle conception is an art as different from the epic as is painting from poesy.

The theater is vastly more embracing than any other of the literary arts. All others appeal but to one sense, the eye or the ear; the drama appeals to both. It is this, more than any other one thing, which explains the intense pleasure the stage has given in all ages, from the dawn of history to the present time, and among all peoples, from the pantomime dances of the North American Indian to sprightly comedies beloved by the gay worldling of the Parisian boulevards.

"The play's the thing," but in analysis it is seen that it is the thing because it grips the fancy and carries along the enthusiasm of the spectator in the proportion of the will-power involved. The primitive instinct of the battle-lust is not far from every man, and the drama which has enduring qualities is invariably one which presents one of the chief characters striving for some definite end, either good or bad, with all the forces of his being.

It is because of this that the drama languishes in indo-

lent nations and decadent periods. Brander Matthews in his excellent book, "The Development of the Drama," points out that "the drama had no place in the existence of the weak-willed Egyptians, but it is likely to have a place of honor among the more determined nations, more particularly in the years that follow hard upon the most abundant expression of their vitality. And this is why we find the golden days of the drama in Greece just after Salamis; in Spain not long after the conquest of Peru and Mexico; in England about the time of the defeat of the Armada (in Germany during the awakening incident upon the French Revolution), and in France when Louis XIV. was the greatest king in Europe."

The origin of the drama probably is coeval with Language. Rude dances and pantomime gesturing would be within the reach of people whose vocabulary was extremely small, and it is not at all improbable that the first story-tellers were pantomimists. The festival dance, usually of a religious nature, moreover, has usually been the first step upward dramaward. It has not always reached the desired height—*e.g.,* the Jewish development stopped far short of the drama, but the Greek tragedy, despite its wonderful development, never entirely escaped the older conception of the ritual and its chorus.

It was but natural that the dramatic sense should find its first advance among the Greeks with reference to the rites of Dionysios, the god of wine and enemy to all that would cause unhappiness. Moreover, these same ceremonies would partake of the nature of harvest festivals, adducing another claim to popularity. The chorus singing laudatory hymns would soon feel that more ought to be told of the exploits of the god and one of the singers would recite some legendary incident, to which the rest would join in chorus. The musician and poet Arion (600 B.C.) was the first to give this dithyramb or chorus poem a regular lyric form.

The next step possible was due to the influence of the

tyrant Pisistratus, one of the most enlightened despots of early times, who desired to make Athens the center of the arts. One of the ablest of these leaders of choruses, an Icarian named Thespis (536 B.C.), was ordered stationed in the city and the expenses of the 'company' were borne by the state. Thespis was not content with the solo reciter, who was called the 'corypheus,' but he also established an answerer, a 'hypocrites' (afterward the Greek word for actor). This enabled a dialog, and by donning of masks to typify various characters, consistent dramatic action could be produced.

Such was the form when Æschylus (525 B.C.), the real founder of Tragedy, appeared. Subject only to the disadvantage that not more than two characters could appear on the platform at any one time, there was latitude enough in the sense that the two opposing forces always could be represented. This had caused a wonderful change from the Dionysios rite, enabling the chorus to be but as interludes to the true action, instead of the action being interpretative of the choral songs.

A great Greek tragedy could bring before a vast Greek audience, in a grandly simple form harmonized by choral music and dance, the great figures of their religious and civil history; the god Apollo in his temple at Delphi, the goddess Athene in the act of founding the Areopagus, the Furies passing on to their shrine beneath the hill, the hero Orestes on his trial. The picture had at once ideal beauty of the highest kind and for the Greeks a deep reality. They seemed to be looking at an actual beginning of these rites and usages which were most dear and sacred in their daily life.

As Æschylus was the first of the great Greek dramatists, so was Sophocles (495 B.C.) the greatest. Aristotle states that Sophocles first made use of the third actor, thus setting an example for all later writers, who did not dare intrude a greater number than that which had sufficed their great master.

His Œdipus the King is perhaps the finest of the Greek plays now extant. Œdipus has delivered the Thebans from the Sphinx by guessing the riddle, but pestilence comes upon the city and in tracing the cause of the crime which has caused the vengeance of the gods, Œdipus finds out that—all unwittingly—he has slain his own father and that his wife was the mother he lost in babehood. In self-punishment Œdipus puts out his own eyes. 'Œdipus at Colonus' and the 'Antigone' are later chapters of the story of the same house. The 'Tranhiniae' tells of the death of Hercules; the 'Ajax' of the madness and self-destruction of the great hero; the 'Electra' is the same story as the 'Choephori' of Æschylus, and the 'Philoctetes' tells of the means whereby that wounded and marooned hero was induced to return to the siege of Troy.

The third of the great Greek dramatists of the early period, Euripides (480 B.C.), was the most popular, but as a genius he falls far below his two predecessors. "On the serene heights of dramatic poesy," says Matthews, "where Sophocles breathed freely, as tho there only could he find his native air, the third of the great Greek dramatists was ill at ease, and in the plays of Euripides we can perceive at least the beginning of a decline. If we admit that Æschylus dealt with demigods and that Sophocles honored heroes, while Euripides is interested rather in men as they are, we must acknowledge also that man as Euripides represents him is often a pitiful creature, involved in sensational adventures far less significant than those to be found in the earlier tragedies. Indeed, it is a woman rather than man whom Euripides likes to take as the chief figure of his pathetic story—a woman often of unbridled passions and swift to act on the primary impulses of her sex."

The finest of his works is the 'Iphigenia Among the Tauri,' which treats with the manner in which a priestess of Artemis, called upon to sacrifice two human victims,

finds them to be her brother (Orestes) and a friend, and of the manner of their escape.

Greek Comedy contains but one great name, that of Aristophanes (448 B.C.). He was a many-sided writer, one of the finest lyricists of Greece, a satirist of unsparing and searing invective and a humorist almost to the point of buffoonery. He is perhaps preëminently the personal satirist with a poet's sense of beauty and a good, full-blooded man's desire for a hearty laugh. The political turmoils of Athens afforded him much material, and he did not spare moral and social evils when the need arose.

Roman Comedy was a failure. This was scarcely due to the writers, for Plautus was a thoro dramatist and Terence a most painstaking workman, but the Latin language did not lend itself to quips of speech, and a populace clamoring for gladiatorial shows found little sustenance in the lighter atmosphere of comedy. It was foredoomed to fall, besides, in that it was imported Greek drama

dians of the decline) and as an importation lacked healthy national life of its own.

Roman tragedy did not exist. Tragedy requires a dramatic sense on the part of the audience and presupposes culture. But the Latins never possessed true culture and "The Games" were real tragedies, combat was to the death, and to tier upon tier of men and women with down-turned thumbs, clamoring in their glut for blood, the tamer pleasures of the theater would pall. It was this that caused the opposition of the early Christians to the theater, not that they disapproved the drama, but that the 'theater' meant the place where their friends and relatives had been "butchered to make a Roman Holiday."

Ensued a long pause wherein dramatic art stood still. The Christian Church, compounded of many non-unified nations, loosely linked by a half-understood and always disputatious theology, was baneful to culture and repress-

ive of the dramatic instinct. Yet, paradoxically, it was the Church which caused the resuscitation of the drama, tho it may be admitted frankly that the theater grew away from its ecclesiastical swaddling-clothes in a manner most unexpected to the cleric. The new dramatic movement began in the Festival-Cycles.

These Festival-Cycles claimed to be nothing more than memory aids to the congregations of the meaning of the Festivals and at first were mere decorations, such as the Cradle at Christmas-tide. Then, in order to teach why the Cradle was in the Church during the service on Christmas morning, three priests, dressed as the Three Wise Men, would carry incense and adore the Figure in the Cradle. Later the Shepherds were added as a prolog. The next development was that of Herod and the conversations with the Three Wise Men, and so on, until all the various incidents connected with the Nativity story were grouped into a dramatic presentation known as the Nativity-Cycle. The same thing at Easter gave rise to the Passion-Cycle, and these were extended to include all the incidents of the Scripture and of the Apochrypha, grouped under their later name "mystery." The mystery extended rapidly and widely, and becoming too large for presentation in the church, was given outside the church door. Later it covered so wide a field that it developed into the "pageant," consisting of different groups of players presenting different scenes. The miracle-play differed mainly from the mystery in that its incidents were taken from Lives of the Staints instead of from Holy Scripture.

But a step forward of a far-reaching character was made in the "morality." This was a dramatized sermon, as the "mystery" had been a dramatized text, and the difference lay in the fact that the "morality" depended upon a plot devised by the writer, not upon a plot worn thin from the Scripture. Thus the Church dramatized fiction, requiring only that the characters be personified virtues

and vices, Patience, Piety, Constancy and the like as opposed to Pride, Wrath and Sloth. But the transition from a personification of Pride to a prideful man was irresistible, and the allegory of the "morality" speedily evolved into a warmer human social satire, in which, however, the "morality" ideals were kept up by the mouth of hell always being handy for the devils to pop out of and bear away the villain, shrieking.

From the comedies of Aristophanes, 400 B.C., to Lope de Vega (1562-1635 A.D.), over two thousand years, the stage was silent. No development of thought in the entire history of the world possesses so absolute and so lengthy an eclipse. It seems almost incredible. Some little credit may be given to Lope de Rueda, a few years the great dramatist's senior, and to the unlucky and ill-starred Cervantes—mighty novelist but puny playwright—but aside from these names Lope de Vega shines out upon the medieval night as the first star of the brilliant seventeenth century galaxy. Tales of his output seem almost fabulous. It is certain that he wrote one thousand five hundred plays, and three hundred more beside are ascribed to him.

It might be misleading to call Lope de Vega greater than Shakespeare, but more Napoleonic he really was. His imagination was upon a Gargantuan scale. He contrived incident with such ease and fertility of expedient, wrote with such force and persuasiveness as to make most of his followers seem poor indeed, and his ingenuity of diversion is marvelously fresh to-day. It is often forgotten that to him is due the honor of according the woman her due place. "Hitherto the woman had been allotted a secondary and incidental part, ludicrous in the comedies and skits, sentimental in the set piece. Lope, the expert in gallantry, in manners, in observation, placed her in her true setting as an ideal, as the mainspring of dramatic motive and chivalrous conduct." And, besides being dramatist, he was master of the epic—*e.g.,* his "Dragontea," wherein Francis Drake is the devil. His lyrics are unsur-

passed and his novels pleasing. Besides all this, he was a gallant soldier who sailed with the Armada, a courtier, a duellist of note, a gallant of the finest water, and last, an ascetic priest and flagellant.

It is worthy of noting, as did Archbishop Trench, that less than a century covered the four great dramatists each of Greece, of England, and of France and the same period the Spanish school. Tirzo de Molina (1571-1648) has a deep sense of conception and his immortality lies in the play "Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de Piedra." He was also the creator of "Don Juan." The third of the great Spanish dramatists was Ruiz de Alarcon (1581-1639), who was born in Mexico. His deformity (he was a hunchback) went far to embitter his life. His "Verdad Sospechosa" as an ethical study is surpassed in no language and every line is polished.

Calderon, or to give him his full name, Pedro Calderon de la Barca Henao de la Barreda (1600-1681), is perhaps the best-known name in Spanish drama, but his greatness does not compare with Lope de Vega. He reveals more clearly than any of his school the close affiliation which the Spanish drama had to the mystery. Perhaps his best-known work is the "El Magico Prodigioso," but it possesses the weakness of all work which has not been able able to shake off the medieval trammels, viz., that it makes the characters subordinate to the incidents, instead of making the incidents revelative of character.

The drama in France owed all to Spain. The attempts at pure translated classicism during the time of the beginnings of French drama, the work of men such as Jodelle, Bezo, Garnier and de Larivey all were sadly at fault. The genius of France, with its air of decorous reserve (no matter how intimate the plot) and its keenness of psychological anaylsis, was not and could not be satisfied with Greek tragedy or Roman so-called comedy. It was not until Alexandre Hardy (1560-1630) appeared upon the scene that the French school found itself.

His contemporary, Pierre Corneille (1606-1684), is a master. He possessed, above all, the faculty for expunging what was not immediately relative to the plot, and from the cumbrous story of "The Cid" he made a tragedy which set all France ablaze and which draws big audiences in Paris to this very day. It was followed by two other great dramas, "Horace" and "Cinna," which not only revealed a dramatist but a poet who could not make his characters speak otherwise than loftily. The transition from this style to "Le Menteur" is amazing, for the latter is a comedy, and, moreover, a comedy of a new cast. It is not so much funny as gay. As Edward Dowden remarks, "It was something to replace the old nurse of classic tragedy with the soubrette."

Jean Racine (1639-1699) is later in time than Moliere, the greatest figure in the French drama, but is earlier in type. He was a reactionist, partly because of the unhappy influence of Philippe Quinault (1635-1688), who had made a weak school of sentimental gallantry. Racine, in order to overcome this, schooled himself to classic models. "Phedre" and "Iphigenie" both were written from Euripides and are the finest works of the modern classical school, but their power and force caused Racine to fear that he was fomenting barbarous modes of action and led to his withdrawal from dramatic work. A Biblical drama, arranged for a group of school-girls, was the only writing of his later life.

Far other was the great Moliere, a figure to stand with Sophocles, Lope de Vega, Shakespeare and Goethe. Jean-Baptiste Poquelin (1622-1673), whose stage name was Moliere, was, as Shakespeare had been, a strolling player, whose early training as a dramatist was the writing of comedies and tragedies wherein he took a leading part. He never left the stage and was playing "Le Malade Imaginaire" when he fell dying, almost his last act being to raise a laugh that it might be thought he was still feigning.

All his work is good, but "Tartuffe," "Le Malade Imaginaire" and "Le Misanthrope" stand out as do the great comedies of Shakespeare. It is small wonder that "The Misanthrope" should be written, for naught but inconstant royal favor saved Moliere from the vindictiveness of the Church. "No one of Moliere's comedies," says Brander Matthews, "is more characteristic than 'Tartuffe,' more liberal in its treatment of our common humanity, braver in its assault upon hypocrisy or more masterly in its technique. Bringing before us a man who uses the language of religion as a cloak for the basest self-seeking, Moliere devised his situations so artfully that the spectators can discount the villain's fair words, and that they know him for what he is, even before he makes his first appearance.

"Two acts are employed to set before us the family relations of the credulous Orgon, into whose confidence the unscrupulous Tartuffe has wormed himself. Tartuffe does not appear until the third of the five acts. His projects are plain, even if they are somewhat contradictory. He is seeking to capture Orgon's wealth for himself, to marry Orgon's daughter and at the same time seduce Orgon's young wife." The hypocrite appears to triumph all through until at the very last the peremptory power of the king, Louis XIV himself, is called into play to help the foolish Orgon and to send Tartuffe to prison. But to know Moliere means to know several of his works, and it would be as unfair to judge him by "Tartuffe" alone, great as it is, as it would be to form an estimate of Shakespeare by the "Taming of the Shrew."

English comedy begins with two broad farces, "Ralph Roister Doister" and "Gammer Gurton's Needle," both by clerics, and the first tragedy is "Gorboduc," by Sackville and Norton. But England's first great name is Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593). Three of his dramas especially are but little inferior to Shakespeare: "Tamburlaine the Great," which is based on the exploits of the

great Timur the Eastern conqueror; "The Rich Jew of Malta," wherein is to be found the original of Shylock, and "The Tragicall Life and Death of Doctor Faustus," which is not unworthy of comparison with Goethe's philosophical creation on the same subject. The Doctor Faustus of Marlowe "is the living, struggling natural man," says Taine; "not the philosophic type which Goethe has created, but a primitive and genuine man, hot-headed, fiery, the slave of his passions, the sports of his dreams, wholly engrossed by the present, molded by his lusts, contradictions and follies, who amidst noise and starts, cries of pleasure and anguish, rolls, knowing it and willing it, down the slope and crags of his precipice."

Of William Shakespeare (1564-1616) eulogy is unnecessary. To English readers his works are the most familiar heritage to Literature, and to add praise to his fame would be, in his own words, "to paint the lily and gild refined gold." In creation of character he stands unsurpassed and in adaptability of expression he has known no equal. Not as fertile in invention as Lope de Vega, not as heroic as Sophocles, not as keen-trained a philosopher as Goethe, not as poignant as Moliere, in other ways he transcends them all, not the less because he was clean-minded beyond all the playwrights of his day and in his outlook upon life was a gentleman to the core.

Three of his contemporaries are deserving of mention. Ben Jonson (1573-1637), "rare Ben" as he was known, had a stately wit, but it was real, and "Every Man in His Humor" and "Every Man Out of His Humor" are masterpieces of comedy; Philip Massinger (1548-1640) is remembered for his "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," while Francis Beaumont (1586-1615) and John Fletcher (1576-1625) wrote many plays, now almost forgotten. Perhaps "The Maid's Tragedy" is the most familiar.

The next period may well be forgotten. Following the restraint of the Puritans, the wild licentiousness of the Restoration found its expression in the drama. Nothing

more clearly shows its essential vileness than the fact that the two names most clearly associated with this period are those of the coarse William Wycherley (1640-1715) and the lascivious William Congreve (1666-1729).

English drama was purified by the work of great actors such as David Garrick and Samuel Foote, but two dramatists, usually coupled together, can by no means be forgotten. These are Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774), poet and writer, whose two plays, "The Good-Natured Man" and "She Stoops to Conquer," still are produced and always with pleasure, and a greater dramatist, tho less brilliant literary genius, Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1836), the typical courtier of the Regency, whose plays, "The Rivals" and "The School for Scandal," will be played as long as the English stage exists. Since that time the theater has been amply supplied, but the work has been ephemeral tho clever.

It is a matter of some surprise that a nation so dramatically gifted as the Italian should have no dramatic literature, or, to speak more truly, no literature of a great dramatist. The reason seems to be mainly that those who had the dramatic instinct, Boiardo, Ariosto, Tasso, devoted it to the epic rather than to the drama. Machiavelli's "Mandragola" and Guarani's "Pastor Fido" are very poor representatives for the brilliant intellectuality of early Italy.

For the next great group of names in the dramatic world, thought turns naturally to Germany, which so long had done nothing worthy of itself. In required but the three masters—Lessing, Schiller and Goethe—to reveal not only that Germany and the Germans possessed the true fire, but that they owned besides a greater depth of thought and a certain scholarliness.

German Literature was almost at its feeblest period, being divided between a host of minor men, who vainly tried to copy the models of Greece or England, when Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) appeared. As the

friend of Winckelmann, he made the classic dry bones live by combining them with French models and raised the German theater to an unprecedented height. "His native language, in which he always wrote, as Wolfgang Menzel in his 'History of Germany' says, "breathes even in its most trifling works a free and lofty spirit, which, fascinating in every age, was more peculiarly so in that emasculated period." In at least three plays, "Minna von Barnhelm," "Emilia Galotti" and "Nathan," he showed himself not only a poet, but—to use a German word—a "theater-poet." The "Minna von Barnhelm" probably acts better than any work of Goethe and Schiller.

As a dramatic poet Schiller (1759-1805) is the one shining light of the eighteenth century, and this, not because of the excellence of his work, but because he spoke for the people, an oppressed people, with a prophet's voice. Lessing, with all his scholarliness, failed to touch the hearts of the mass, but Schiller struck the true note. The "Robbers" is somewhat amateurish in its technique of stage-craft, but determinedly strong in the reading, while "William Tell" and "Mary Stuart" represent the German dramatist at his best. The fame of Schiller, great as it is, would have been greater had it not been for the magnitude of Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), who was his contemporary.

It is hard to find a class for Goethe, for he belonged to no special type. Epic poet he was not, dramatist he was not, that much is clear, and still less was he the spokesman of his age and time. No Roi Faineant could have been more outwardly contemptuous of the people than Goethe, and his statement, "The public must be controlled," was not calculated to add to the popularity of the theater at Weimar. It is true that in his earlier plays, in especial in "Goetz von Berchlingen," there is plenty of action, but stage-craft is wholly lacking. "Clavigo," "Iphigenia" and "Egmont" are not dramas, but various other forms of literature in a pseudo-dramatic disguise, and "Romeo and

Juliet" needs but to be read to be seen how Goethe has succeeded in spoiling utterly the whole dramatic purpose of the story.

His "Faust," especially the better known first part, is unquestionably the greatest work since Shakespeare, or at least since Moliere. But it is in reality a reversion to type. It is the apotheosis of the "morality." But, at the same time, it does not claim to instill hope and faith and courage; on the other hand, it is tainted deeply with the poison of pessimism and presents a picture which cannot be called fair to see. Goethe's surpassing genius is everywhere acknowledged, his searching interrogation of life, his power of self-expression in almost every department of literature; but philosophic profundity of a morbidly introspective order could not even be classed as a "morality." Almost it might be said that "Faust" is an "antimorality." To tell its history would serve no purpose, for the story has little to do with the parable.

The work of Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas—neither of them dramatists but primarily novelists—showed the trend of literature, and for the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century there was no real thought expended on the drama save in France, and there only of the most meager character.

Modern drama begins with Henrik Ibsen, perhaps the only modern to take rank with Sophocles and Shakespeare. It has been carried on by a number of lesser names, such as Sudermann, Rostand, d'Annunzio, Hauptmann, Maeterlinck, Synge, Shaw and Brieux, each of whom had a message to deliver and by a number of clever dramatists such as Barrie, Arnold Bennett, Clyde Fitch, Galsworthy, Henry Arthur Jones, Knoblauch, Parker, Pinero and Thomas.

It may, perhaps, be asked pertinently why Ibsen is so great, and to this query the answer is simple: He has vision. Remember that when Ibsen began writing, such banalities as "The Lady of Lyons" were considered wor-

thy plays, and even "Rosedale," twenty-five years later, was a huge success. Against such maudlin rot was set such a masterpiece as "Ghosts," a technical and artistic marvel; against the fripperies and smug respectability of the Victorian epoch was set "The Doll's House," which may be construed as the first great voice in dramatic art admitting the individuality of woman as a human being, apart from woman as a slave or a lure. But—and this is a large but—Ibsen is far less than Sophocles or Shakespeare because of his lack of universality. "The Doll's House" heroine might be any woman, but in nearly all his other plays the characters are pathological studies.

Edmond Rostand loses greatness by the sad fact that he is not great inwardly. He is not sincere. He is a riot of exquisite fancy, brilliant facility and a supernal gift of phrase. He is too clever. His simplest work is "La Samaritaine." In "Cyrano de Bergerac" the fantasy peeps forth boldly in the rhodomontades of the large-nosed hero. In "L'Aiglon" the issue is becoming confused with details. Finally, in "Chantecler," Rostand lost hold of the ground altogether and swamped his theme in a medley of satirical under- and over-tones. Even then, a good actor, one with perception and personal power, might have made the character of "Chantecler" stand out, but given, as it was in America, to a charming actress (it is an appallingly *male* part), every bit of its emphasis was lost. That "Chantecler," none the less, is a part of the small treasury of immortal works is sure. Some time it will be revived with Reinhardt scenery, and a master actor.

There are many names to conjure with in Europe that America knows mainly as names d'Annunzio, Hauptmann, Sudermann and the rest, but those dramatists whose greatness is known well in the United States demand more than a passing notice.

In fancifulness, Maeterlinck is at one with Rostand, and "The Blue Bird" and "Chantecler" have a family likeness. But Maeterlinck is a mystic poet, while Rostand is a man

of the world, and the inner content of their work is widely variant. "Sister Beatrice" is open to many criticisms as a work of recognized canons of dramatic art, but there is more than a suspicion that it is great enough to make rules for itself. It is further to be remembered that Maeterlinck understands the conventions of the theater, and is well aware of the value of the modern machinery of the stage as a medium for the conveyance of illusion. The demands upon imagination made by the pictorial drama of to-day have been dodged by the English playwrights, and turned into mere spectacle by the American producers, but in that atmosphere, Maeterlinck is at home.

Synge—in spite of his kink towards sordidness in minor matters—possesses Celtic idealism, and is well aware of the poetry of the stage. Clayton Hamilton has caught Synge's spirit better than many of his compatriots and tho he overpraises, still the following is pertinent: "He deeply felt the poetry, the pathos, the tragedy, the humor of the incongruity between the littleness of human actuality and the immensity of human dreams. He writes of illusions and disillusionments. Illusions are beautiful and funny [sometimes!]; disillusionments are beautiful and sad." Now that the typical use of "The Playboy of the Western World" as a traitorous political move has passed into oblivion, the sketch may take its place among the great genre dramatic interpretations of the world. "Riders of the Sea" is no more a drama than Byron's "Cain." "In the Shadows of the Glen" is very Irish, but many will prefer the wandering away of Pierrette in Housman's "Prunella" to Synge's presentation of Nora Burke's departure with her undesired tramp.

Synge gave his message unconsciously, but Brieux is a preacher, and his dramas are as absolutely preachments as were the 'moralities' of the Middle Ages. "Damaged Goods" (Les Avaries) is less a drama than an anatomical lecture delivered at a clinic of social diseases by a professor with a scathing tongue. "The Affinity" (Les Hanne-

tons) and "The Three Daughters of M. Dupont" are also marvellous works, but, lacking the advertisable character of "Damaged Goods," they could not hold their public. Not even the talent of a Brieux can substitute the classroom parable for the drama, when designed for presentation on the stage. Thus Pinero escapes because he is a master craftsman, and "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" will abide.

The last of these writers "with a message" is George Bernard Shaw. As Irish as Synge, he is his opposite in many ways. There is a little spring in Shaw, which, when touched, startles him into full-voiced protest. This word is 'respectability.' It is anathema to Shaw. It connotes to him that smug hypocrisy, that florid veneer, that conventional platitudinizing which is the special bane of the middle class. Whether it be a gutter-snipe taught to speak English well and thereby queening over society, or a girl held down by middle-class parents and rejoicing in a prison sentence that followed a spree, his theme is the laying bare of sham. Dean Swift and Shaw have much in common, as anyone can observe who takes the trouble to compare "Man and Superman" and the Voyage to the Land of the Houhynyms in "Gulliver's Travels." Shaw may be—often is—a mountebank, but like the Jongleur de Notre Dame he lays bare his talents as a mountebank before the shrine of Truth. If, at times, he raves, he feels himself justified by the more than horror of respectability.

Barrie is a link between the dramatic prophets of modern times who have been mentioned and the excellent craftsmen who have attacked the stage in a new manner and developed the microscopic drama. "Peter Pan" might, for a second, be thought of with "Chantecler" and "The Blue Bird," only for a second, for the thought would instantly arise that "Peter Pan" means nothing. "What Every Woman Knows" (only she doesn't) is far more revelative of the author's fertility of fancy. At times he

in an execrable dramatist, as in "Little Mary," but almost always the Barrie shines through, and one enjoys the playwright's enjoyment in his own play.

A group of dramatists may be named, such as Galsworthy, Masefield, Houghton and Bennett, who seem to have set before themselves the stern mandate that under no circumstances shall their dramas be dramatic; on the contrary, they shall be real. Both in Galsworth's "The Pigeon" and Ibsen's "The Wild Duck," the antagonism between freedom and domestication shines out, but how differently! "Strife" is not a play. Githa Sowerby's "Rutherford and Son" is a good example of the undramatic play. Not only does nothing happen, but the dramatist takes pains to show that nothing could happen. Masefield's "Nan" is a cruder example of the same order. Henry Arthur Jones is an eavesdropper and, in his own words, expects his audience "to pay half a crown or half a guinea to have a wall removed and see the lives of other people as they really are."

Of the dramatists most familiar to America one must add that they have learned the craft of the visual drama better than any other. Augustus Thomas's "The Witching Hour" and "The Harvest Moon" take a high rank in this regard. Parker did the same in "Pomander Walk." Knoblauch's "Kismet," in parts, carried this to a point of genius, especially the opening and closing scenes, and even in "The Faun" the deftness did not leave him, though he made puppets in his minor characters. Belasco—though he struts a good deal in literary borrowed plumes—is the acknowedged master of making the theater fit the play. The handling of "The Return of Peter Grimm" was the apex of efficiency along this line. Whether its future holds further development along this line, or whether it will follow Reinhardt and Gordon Craig remains to be seen. Both are wildly revolutionary, but the Englishman is the least sane. The development of this note is unquestionably the most interesting feature of modern drama.

Of moving pictures, the photo-drama, there is, as yet, little to be said. Perhaps three points of interest may be noted. The first of these is that it is cheap. The second is that the photo-drama is melodramatic. The third is that it gives an opportunity for visualization more extended than is possible on any stage. There are, as yet, no writers of scenarios worthy personal mention. There is, as yet, no photo-drama of importance. "Cabiria" was no more a single work than a performance at the Hippodrome is a single work; it was a mere framework on which was constructed a vast array of spectacular scenes. One is tempted to say of "Cabiria" as was truly said of "The Garden of Allah," that "the principals were the camels." Truth compels the statement that the credit for the "Cabiria" scenario was assigned to d'Annunzio, but the great author of "Trionfo della Morte" would be humiliated to be known only as a scenario writer.

All the great moving picture dramas are of three types: photodramatizations of books, of plays, or of historic pageants. To say that Rex Beach is a scenario writer is to do his novels a gross injustice; to hail Booth Tarkington likewise is to minimize his short story art.

The effort of moving picture companies of late has been the presentation on the screen of well-known novels and plays. This, in itself, is a terrible confession of weakness, for it proclaims that so far photo-drama does not inhere as an art upon its own basis. A novel is written for its literary style, for its presentation of character, as much as for its incident. Give Zola the incidents of Pickwick—how different a book it would be from that of Dickens! The purely romanticist historical writers, such as Dumas, could be photo-dramatized, but novels are an art in themselves, and to pick out incidents from novels, fit them to the movie and then proclaim that the public is being "educated" in the classics is a gross misuse of terms. The photo-drama is yet to be born, but at almost any moment, the great film may be produced. It may be said that it

cannot be an old novel or an old play, but must be the first and original work of a new art.

In brief, the mechanical end of the motion picture—which is marvelous—has outrun its imaginative creators, and, more's the pity, as a result it has become associated with paucity of theme and mediocrity of treatment. No one is more aware of this than motion picture companies themselves, and they clamor for scenarios that shall be worthy. A really great motion picture has not yet been made, though parts of "The Birth of a Nation" distinctly herald the coming of a new era in photo-drama. But the picture genius in this art, whoever he may be, must be a director, not a mere scenario writer. It is in the studio, not in the library, that the great photo-drama will be created. There is more than a possibility that American dramatic art may step into the limelight through some great photo-dramatist now receiving his training in these infancy-years of a new art.

CHAPTER XI

ESSAYISTS AND HISTORIANS

THE first essayist, the first historian, who were they? Truth suggests some barbarian cutting notches on a tally-stick, but common sense proposes a more modern reply. The modern essay and the modern history are truly modern. Both begin in the eighteenth century, flourish in the nineteenth century and decline in the twentieth century. In "The Tatler" (1709-1711) and in "The Spectator" (1711-1714) the periodical essay took shape, and Addison and Steele are the names which recur in connection with them. The Sir Roger de Coverley papers are undoubtedly the best known types of this period, but they are as yet unshaped, too rich in imaginative content, too full of the play of fancy to fit entirely into the frame of the modern essay.

The ponderosity of Engand's literary czar, Dr. Samuel Johnson, determined the character of the essay during the latter part of the century and gave to it a sententiousness from which, happily, it has been delivered. The uncompromising position of the dictator was only partly excused by his mastery of his stiff diction, but Johnson's work possesses an influence that proved of inestimable value—he dignified the essay into a power of polemic.

The founder of modern history—and one of the greatest English historians—was Gibbon, and his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" stands alone as a masterpiece of the eighteenth century. Gibbon is the English voice of

the great world-movement that found its volcanic vent in the French Revolution and he died (1794) in the very crux of its throes. Free from ecclesiasticism and not overbalanced as rationalism, "The Decline and Fall" is an imperishable monument to Gibbon's greatness.

Just as Lamb is foretold by Addison, so are Cobbett and Sydney Smith heralded by Dean Swift, though Cobbett's bludgeon and Sydney Smith's walking sword were poor weapons of satire compared with the rapier of the terrible Irish divine. It is with Charles Lamb that the modern essays links to the eighteenth century writers, in which he is steeped, and the quaint, almost elfin, "Essays of Elia" are immortal. Who, that has read it, can forget "A Dissertation on Roast Pig"? Dickens, in his novels, sometimes breaks into the form. A coach ride in "Pickwick," a sea scene in "Martin Chuzzlewit" are kin, and indeed, are more closely akin than the essays of Leigh Hunt, who was Lamb's co-worker and friend. Far greater than Hunt, but more purely a critic than essayist was William Hazlitt. Of the same period was De Quincy, whose "Confessions of an English Opium Eater" are marvels of imagery in words.

Macaulay's Essays are incomparable as a high standard of classical English; they are vivid and stimulating, direct and telling. But it cannot be said that they are ever fair. Macaulay was first, last and all the time a politician, and he could not discuss the poetry of a poet without turning his criticism into a Whig pamphlet.

One of the greatest names in English literature during the nineteenth century then appeared, that of Thomas Carlyle, whose "Sartor Resartus" is the wildest great work in English, and whose "History of the French Revolution" is the most marvellous unhistorical history ever penned. Every page is worth reading—but for Carlyle's style, not because of his subject. He was as divergent as Macaulay was direct, as enthusiastic as Macaulay was composed, and when Carlyle undertook to use the sledge-

hammer savagely, the result was more crushing than even Macaulay's determined assaults.

Matthew Arnold, poet as well as literary critic and essayist and greater as the first than the second, was a contemporary of the great art student who, with Macaulay and Carlyle, gives to the century three great English essayists. This was John Ruskin, primarily an æsthetic, but still more a master of prose style. Such prose as Ruskin's had never been seen before, it has not been seen since. He has no sense of debate, as Macaulay; you shall search in vain for the pungency of Carlyle; but only, perhaps, in some of the prose of Shelley is there a suggestion of what the English language may be in the hands of a master. Some of the smaller works, especially "Sesame and Lilies," are better known, but the style is at its finest in "Modern Painters." Nevertheless he is as unsafe a guide in his subjects as he is a leader in his literary technique.

Walter Pater and John Addington Symonds close the century. Pater's prose style is faultless, a most annoying and precious perfection. "Marius the Epicurean" is scarcely a book so much as an architectural production of prose-paragraphs of exquisite craftsmanship. A few pages of Pater is like a long-closed but beautiful room, and one reaches for Carlyle to blow the preciosity away. Symonds was of the same school, but with far less care and greater verbosity. His "History of the Renaissance in Italy" is admirable reading—for anyone with little else to do. It is full of information and insight, told in the longest way possible.

The American essay found its richest fruit in Ralph Waldo Emerson, a name to rank with Ruskin and Carlyle. Holding a strong severity of philosophy, he knew his prose thoroughly and made it sonorous. Such essays as "The Poet" are absolutely as fine as anything that has ever been penned in Europe. In the literary essay, William Dean Howells can never be forgotten, and in the field

which is now beginning to be known as nature-study comes an array of writers beginning from Thoreau, who are incomparably the superiors in this domain.

In French Literature the essay first flowers under the pen of Montaigne (1533-1592), and the "Essais" belongs to that rare group of books wherein each volume is a companion rather than a book. The style is so carefully wrought that its light facility shows no trace of the polishing process; it is essentially playful, well bred and versatile.

The eighteenth century in France was too full of the preparations for the national cataclysm that closed it to give much time or care to the lighter essay. Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau became social reformers. At the same time it would be unfair to omit mention of the letter-writing of the wits of the salons which were closed by the revolution, closed, alas! by the guillotining of many fair ladies and gallant gentlemen for whose death there was no reason other than that they were ladies and gentlemen. Unlike the blossoming of the essay in England, the nineteenth century in France was too conscious of itself, too analytical, and men who would have been essayists in England became critical historians of literature. Such were Villemain, Nisard, Sainte Beuve, and Taine.

It seems unkind to reiterate the point so frequently, but German literature is lamentably weak. Just as there is no great German novelist, with the possible exception of Richter, and only one good German short story writer, Paul Heyse, so there is no German essayist of the first rank. There is hardly any of the second rank. Germany's gift lay in philosophy and in science, and the lighter forms of literature she has never possessed.

Spanish Literature also lacks the light essay, though Alberto Lista's work resembles Lamb's "Specimens of English Dramatic Poets." The most brilliant master of Spanish prose, Mariano Jose de Larra (1809-1837), may

be compared to Dean Swift in his ferocious and bitter satire. Controversy holds high rank in Spain and the slashing pen, such as those of Antonio de Valbuena and Leopoldo Alas is greatly admired.

In Italy, the "Dialogues" of Leopardi are essay-like in form and perfect so far as their range goes, but the range is narrow. In prose he is an Italian Walter Pater. A finer mind, but a sterner writer, was Mazzini (d. 1872), who played so large a part in the Liberation of Italy. Tommasseo (1802-1874) was essentially a lexicographer, but he enriched Italian letters with many essays of considerable worth, leaving a place as yet unfilled, saving for the too brilliant superficiality of Angelo de Gubernatis.

Before bidding farewell to the nineteenth century, its leading historians should be mentioned. Many of these are of the highest eminence. In England, following Gibbon and Hume, came Hallam, with a "View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages," and "Constitutional History of England"; Milman, "History of Latin Christianity"; Grote, "History of Greece"; Macaulay and Carlyle, previously noted; Buckle, "A History of Civilization"; Freeman and Green, stimulating and popular, and Froude, whose "History of England" is a standard. Italy holds high rank in historians. One has but to name Ferrari, Botta, Colletta, Cantu and, more recently, Bonghi and Ferrero, to perceive her leadership in this line. Germany has no historians of eminence, confining her great work to drama; Spain has given little heed to history, her modern writers making fuller use of the novel.

The twentieth century opened with the closing work of George K. Chesterton, one of the few to take a niche among the half-dozen essayists of all time. Chesterton—far more Irish than English—makes an effort to be national, appears as the defender of the State Church and as the apologist of the England of his time, but like Dickens, his localization is but the thinnest veil over his universality. He is not profound, but scintillating, and his

humor is of the finest. Of a very different sort is A. C. Benson, a meditative essayist. Hillaire Belloc, especially in his "On Anything, on Everything and on Something," commands attention, but he is more a journalist than a master of belles-lettres. With G. Lowes Dickinson, culminates the mood of quiet introspection into the life of the twentieth century as it appears at its opening.

America's chief essayist during the first two decades of the century is John Burroughs, who is beginning to be regarded among the great prose stylists of the United States. Kindlier than Emerson and far more perceptive, Burroughs's influence over this generation has been exceedingly great. Almost alone of all essayists of modern time, he has found in modern thought, in science, in progress, even in the nervous excitement of America, a message of peace and charm. In the pages of John Burroughs is to be found an American philosophy of life, which is both optimistic and truthful. No serener note could be struck for a happier prophecy of America's future.

CHAPTER XII

THE NOVEL AND THE SHORT STORY

THE novel truly begins where the drama fails, in the same sense that the drama begins with the close of the epic. It is clear, of course, that each overlaps the other and that in a minor sense during each period some literary work which might be classed under either of these three heads has continued, but it can be stated as a most important and illumining fact that the great writers of the one form of literary style rarely synchronized with those of other schools.

Thus Homer and the cyclic poets were well out of the way before the four great figures of the Greek stage appeared, and these again had passed by the time the "Nimrod" fragment was written or "The Marvellous Things Beyond Thule" set forth. The two "Greek Novels," Heliodorus' "Theagenes and Charicles" and Longus' (?) "Daphnis and Cloe," are still later. In the same manner the period of the Epic of Chivalry contained no writers of "novels" and no dramatists, and the Elizabethan period in England was past before the novelists began. It is seldom realized that the modern novel is not an independent growth which has always been in existence as a form of literary art and has grown together with others, but that it is a late product in every age, taking into itself that which has gone before. The usual sequence is the saga, then the epic, then the drama and last the novel. The lyric, of course, bears no relation to the development

of literature. The work of Sappho is as clear as the verse of Mrs. Barrett Browning, and the modern who would esteem himself greater than Pindar (522 B.C.) would find but few in agreement with him. Great lyric poets there have been and will ever be, writers whose burning words inspire those who are their associates, men and women who have made the world fairer for their presence; but unfailing as is their place in a History of Literature, their part is small in the History of the Development of Literature.

It is common in literary criticism to confine the novel to a very small class of prose fiction, a class of indefinite boundaries and vague characteristics, but such is not the idea of the novel in the popular mind. Almost any kind of story is a "novel" in modern popular acceptance, and it is undoubtedly true that a novel is a compound of many. Therefore it seems an injustice to treat of the development of the novel and leave out such upstanding works as Æsop's 'Fables,' 'The Arabian Nights Entertainments,' the 'Gesta Romanorum' and the 'Decameron' of Boccaccio when each of these went far to make the story of to-day.

Perhaps no work is so widely known or so often quoted as the collection of fables which goes under the name of Æsop. This famous slave, who lived in the days of Crœsus, was possessed of much adroitness and not a little wit, and he seems to have followed a double road in his recital of fables. Thus he collected whatever old fables and legends were current among the people and retold them in the phrase and manner of the philosophies of the schools of his time. This produced the happy result of pleasing the philosophers by advancing their arguments without their having recourse to the childish means of fables, and he pleased the court by enabling them to understand the philosophies without undergoing the confusion of fine-spun argument and dialectic. Being based on deep truth and expressed in simple forms, they possessed an intrinsic permanence. Thus such phrases as "sour grapes,"

a "wolf in sheep's clothing" and "dog in the manger" have become current in the language, and the literary style is a part of the heritage of modern times.

Similar in many ways are the groups of fairy tales, which, as Andrew Lang has pointed out, are even earlier than the great epic poems, often being the very first myths of primeval times. To give a well-known example, the fairy tale of the Sleeping Beauty is but the return of the seasons. The Princess Summer, getting tired of play, goes up to the dreary room of Autumn, where an old crone, Winter, causes her to prick her finger with the icy needle of Frost. Thereon she falls into a heavy sleep, being frost-bound, from which she can only be aroused by the fairy prince of Spring, who after the appointed time has elapsed is able to break through the barriers that have surrounded her, and kissing her, leads her back to her own Summer land again. These fairy tales, many of them nature stories of the most primitive character and others legends which have developed from a later time, also have had a decided impress upon the story-teller's art. Thus "The Goose That Laid the Golden Eggs" and the "Ugly Duckling" are thoroly familiar.

Scarcely less influential has been the Oriental tale, more especially in that collection known as the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. The exact origin of these is unknown, but there seems little reason to doubt that they took final form during the Caliphates, altho certain of the stories included in the earlier portion of the work may have a Persian or even a Hindu source. There are really two different groups of stories. The first contains wonderful and impossible adventures and extravagant absurdities, in which the invention leaps from fancy to fancy and has no other aim than to entertain the imagination by the most grotesque, impossible and strange occurrences. These deal with the wonders of magic and have as their chief machinery the intervention of Fairies, Genies and Peris, acting upon Mohammedan customs and interpre-

tative of stories depicting the beliefs of the Koran. The second part consists of Arabian tales and anecdotes gathered from the story-tellers who were to the Caliphs what the trouveres were to the age of chivalry, and they are so intimately transcribed that the manners of that otherwise little-known period of history stand clear to modern vision. The stories of "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" and of "Sindbad the Sailor," for example, are not likely ever to be forgotten.

The one outstanding figure prior to the birth of the English novel is Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), whose first novel, the "Filocopo," marks the transition from the semi-metrical romance of the character of "C'est d'Aucassin et Nicolette" to the true novel. His next work, the "Ameto," also was epoch-making, being the first of the true pastoral romances carried to their height by Sannazaro and Montemayor, and his "Fiametta" is quite distinctly the precursor of the modern novel. But Boccaccio's name as the first great novelist of the world rests upon the "Decameron," a group of stories rewritten from the Gesta Romanorum, from the ballads of the country and from the folk-lore of the country.

"Among many lights in which this epoch-making book may be regarded," says F. M. Warren in his 'History of the Novel Previous to the Sixteenth Century,' "is that of an alliance between the elegant and superfine literature of courts and the vigorous but homely literature of the people. Nobles and ladies, accustomed to far-fetched and ornate compositions like the 'Filocopo,' were made able by the 'Decameron' to hear the same stories which amused the common people, told in a style which, too, the uneducated could appreciate and enjoy, but purged of much roughness and vulgarity and told in the only clear, forcible prose that had yet been produced.

"This is Boccaccio's best defence against the charge of licentiousness which has been so misconstruingly laid against him. He markedly did not write for the purpose

of stimulating the passions, but reproduced the ordinary talk of moments of relaxation, giving it the attraction of a pure and classic style. How vastly more refined, indeed, is the "Decameron" than were the manners of the time in which it was written may be well estimated by a comparison with such a collection as the "Facetiæ of Poggio."

All these were rather factors that entered into the novel than its direct antecedents. "As is well understood today," says F. M. Warren again, "the Arthurian prose romances are the fountain head of the modern novel. They supplied its substance as well as set it a model of prose composition. They did not, however, furnish it with the vital spirit, without which it would never have been created. This shaping force came from another kind of medieval literature and is more directly due to the honest minstrels of France. It is almost superfluous to add that the plot of these 'romans,' often cleverly constructed, was the mutual affection of knight and lady. Their heroes and heroines comported themselves like lovers of the present day and set a worthy, if useless, example of fidelity to the forgetful swains of Arthurs' household. From the prose stories of the Round Table then and from these poetical accounts of the 'romans d'aventure' of refined life in the Middle Ages came the first novel of modern times.

One work, indeed, was a sort of universal legatee to the tales and romances of the Middle Ages. This was the Amadis of Gaul, which made its bow to the public in the last half of the fifteenth century. It possesses a distinct plot, and while it is filled with adventures-at-arms, all the exploits are done by the knight for love for his mistress, and when she receives his homage unwillingly, deeds of valor are but empty and the applause of Christendom unheeded. This work was imitated by the Palmerin romances, but they contain little that is new.

The beginning of the sixteenth century witnessed the "Arcadia" of Japoco Sannarzaro (1458-1530). It is excessively Latinized and stilted, but it presented the six-

teenth century with a prose pastoral which formed a rule for those who came after. Jorge de Montemayor (1522-1651) wrote perhaps the best example of this forced school in his "Diana," which made a great furore through Spain. This being a story with definite coherence, it supplanted the "Arcadia" and had a wonderful effect on all romantic literature to come. It is to Spain also that the credit is due for the Picaresco school and its correlative author, Cervantes, the writer of "Don Quixote."

The inner meaning of the Picaresco attitude was a protest against the prevailing style of literature, which, in the romances of chivalry, showed an utter disregard for the real condition of the Spanish nation by celebrating only the deeds of one class in feudal society, the nobility. In the career of the picaro, instead of a hero urged on by his love and loyalty to win fame, the Spanish public was invited to compare his career with the actual adventures of any rascal taken from the common herd.

"In carrying out his hostility to the romances of chivalry, however, the insurgent went to the other extreme and made the heroes of realism from the very start the embodiment of all that is mean and crafty. Thus in the most distinctive of this school, the 'Laxarillo de Tormes,' the story is merely the scoundrelly adventure of a rascally beggar boy, who in turn is the guide of a blind man whom he shamefully abuses, of a priest who starves him because of avarice, of a noble who starves him because he spends all he has on keeping up an outward show, and after many other masters, gets in touch with the archpriest, and the book closes with the blasphemous beggar turned hypocrite and succeeding admirably therein."

The "Don Quixote" of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547-1616) is the second great novel of literature, and is greatness is immortal. But, curiously enough, the author never believed in "Don Quixote" and always esteemed himself a dramatist. Almost, it would seem, in his own life, he passed through the processes through which a

literature has to pass. He began with lyrics and sonnets, passed into the epic, developed the epic dramatic such as the "Numantia," tried his hand at the pastoral and then devoted himself to pure drama. But worldly failure had marked Cervantes for her own, and not until he was sick at heart and neglected, exasperated at the continuing popularity of impossible tales of chivalry, did he direct his magnificent powers to revealing the folly of knight-errantry. The picaresco tale had partly opened the eyes of the public, but after the Sorrowful Knight of La Mancha and his proverb-ridden squire had played their part, the tale of chivalry never again dared to try and raise its head.

Strictly speaking, Spain has since produced no great novelists, but contemporary literature has several names not to be ignored. Thus Valera, Pereda and Galdoz form a mighty triad, Valdes has a large following and the 'La Regenta' of Alas is one of the finest of modern works, ranking as historically great.

The first great Italian novelist after Boccaccio is Allessandro Mansoni (1785-1873), whose "I Promessa Sposi" is probably better known than any book since the "Divina Commedia." It remains to this day the greatest Italian romance, and as a picture of human nature in Milan under the dreary Spanish rule of the seventeenth century it is unsurpassed. "It satisfies us," says Goethe, "like perfectly ripe fruit." Tommasso Grossi, Massimo d'Azeglio and Cesare Cantu are disciples of this school, but none reach the heights of their master.

It is not until Gabrielle d'Annunzio that another great novelist appears in Italy, and d'Annunzio is far more poet than novelist. It is not to be expected that d'Annunzio could shake himself entirely free from the pessimism of that sublime lyrist, Giacomo Leopardi (1798-1837), but this is his chief weakness. The friendship of Giosue Carducci, patriot and clear-minded thinker as well as master of passion and beautiful language, has been a wise prevision for d'Annunzio, and the author of "Il Trionfo della

Morte" and "La Vergine della Rocce" will go down to posterity wearing the laurel crown.

The first novel of France is "Meliador" by the great historian, Jean Froissart (1338-1404). It is in every sense typical of the writer of the immortal "Chronicles," lacking the inner life in spite of its construction of external marvels and splendors. Froissart was more than a mere historian. Like his successor, Philip de Commines (1445-1511), he was a word-painter of most uncommon force and a novelist with a genius for throwing life upon the page.

But even "Meliador" is dry reading beside the unctuous humor of "Pantagruel," the literary offspring of the famous Francois Rabelais (1490-1552). Rabelais' fun is most infectious. Life in him was so full and abounding that it could not be restrained, and as the first physician of his time he taught that few things in this world are wholesomer than laughter. Grandgousier, Gargantua, Pantagruel are not mere characters; they are sharp and distinct types, and the endless complexity of the adventures—such as that to consult the oracle of La Dive Bouteille—is for the purpose of touching with a keen shaft of ridicule some social and ecclesiastical abuse.

Literary anarchy followed. It was the time of the Huguenot controversy and all writing was embittered. Nevertheless this period, with all its vicissitudes, introduced one of the most charming of literary gentleman-adventurers, Jean de la Fontaine (1621-1693). He was irreclaimably wayward, utterly without comprehension of responsibility, but he was born to write perfect verses and he fulfilled his mission. He knew well the old cycle of Renard the Fox and the Fabliaux of the twelfth century. He hung upon the words of Boccaccio and the Tales of the Saints and indeed sent his keen wit and happy faculty for phrasing over all literatures, calling from them whatsoever was suitable for a "Conte" and making all live anew by the touch of his life-filled pen.

The novel in a more confined sense begins anew with Alain-Rene LeSage (1668-1747) in his realistic work, "Gil Blas." The picaresco story was a determinative factor, but LeSage added more thereto and gave prophetic insight to the future historical novel. With Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux (1688-1763) the novel becomes an analysis of passions and the incidents are subordinated, a distinction seen with especial force in his successor, A. F. Prevost d'Exiles (1697-1763), who is remembered especially for his famous novel, "Manon Lescaut."

The social analyst, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755), author of the "De L'Esprit de Lois"; the irrepressible and erratic genius, Francois Marie Arouet, commonly called Voltaire (1694-1778); the encyclopedic talent of Denis Diderot (1713-1783); the supernal idealist, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), followed by the Revolution, left France in mental uncertainty, not less remarkable than the political turmoil for which the early part of the century was noted. Saint Simon, Fourier, Comte, Proudhon, all great names, as is that of Lamartine in poesy, led the way to the nation's chiefest boast, Victor Hugo (1802-1885). "Les Miserables" undoubtedly will be accounted one of the great novels of the world, but it will also be admitted to be prolix and discursive. We could ill spare the description of Waterloo, but it forms no part of the narrative. "The Toilers of the Sea" is less marred in this fashion, but all of Hugo's novels, like his plays, consist largely of a stringing together of incidents. The Preface to Hugo's "Cromwell" and "His Hunchback of Notre Dame" together give the clue to Hugo's conception of the working purposes of the novel. To him the provocation of startling propinquities between the grotesque and the sublime is a large part of the novelist's art.

The historical novel found its apotheosis in Alexandre Dumas (1803-1870). No one can deny the dash, the brilliancy, the animation and the fanfarronade of "Les Trois Mousquetaires," and if d'Artagnan were expunged from

letters, many would pine for his daring and his exploits with Athos, Porthos and Aramis. But Dumas possessed the vice of a too prolific imagination, and his later work was commercial output, not literature.

Far other was the work of Lucile Aurore Dupin (George Sand) (1804-1876). In proportion as Dumas is dashing, she is calm, where he is mercurial she is lethargic, and the absolute placidity of "La Petite Fadette" is the truest style of the writer. Her meteoric and passionate life with De Musset, Chopin and others in her long list of lovers, finds reflection in her letters rather than her novels.

It is impossible to avoid comparing the peasant types of George Sand with those of Honore de Balzac (1799-1850), the realist. He was not a man but a book, and his life is in the pages of the "Human Comedy." The steadiness with which he worked and his voracity for vastness of purview coupled to detail is wonderful, but there seems a distinct sense of smallness in his very desire for fame. It is the genius of a gross rather than that of a fine soul. Balzac suffered from the desire to do too much. The novelist is swallowed up in the desire to be a super-reporter, to journalize all of life by himself. He is a bourgeois squirrel in a cage of his own making, the cage, as Henry James phrases it, being "the complicated but dreadfully definite French world that built itself so solidly in and roofed itself so impenetrably over him." In this Flaubert's "Madame Bovary" is singularly similar. Greater almost than Balzac is the great French realist Emile Zola, the most Russian of all Frenchmen. But alas, unlike the Russian, he would not take the trouble to master his subject. Germany, especially modern Germany, has followed the lines of technical science too closely to pay much attention to the novel. The vogue of Ernst von Wolzogen in itself shows how utterly lacking is Germany in any great novelists.

The German novel is on a different plane. No great

names rise to mind like those of Robelais, La Fontaine, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Dumas and Zola. In the first place, there is no German literature worthy the name between Wolfram von Eschenbach and Lessing, and neither Klopstok, Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Jean Paul Richter or Heine contributed aught of importance to the development of the novel. Paul Heyse, perhaps, will stand out with Sudermann as of chief importance among later German writers; Georg Ebers has written well and largely of Egypt; Frederick Spielhagen possesses power in revealing the weaknesses of the present social order, and Theodor Storm is one of the masters of the short story.

In Russia, on the other hand, the novel has had a distinguished career. Turgeniev, Tolstoi and Dostoievsky take rank with Hugo and Dumas, with Dickens and Thackeray, and modern thought is beginning to place Russian literature upon an exceedingly high plane, superior to any contemporary nation's output. It may seem at first a little strange to think of supposedly backward Russia as leading the van, but Tolstoi's "War and Peace" and Turgeniev's "Crime and Punishment" are so far in advance of their times as to be prophetic. Dostoievsky's work is more typically national, but even there the realism that is the most characteristic note of all Russian writing shines out in unabated force.

The greatness of the French novelists is only rivalled by the English school. Altho foreshadowed by Geoffrey Chaucer (1328-1340), the English novel never truly came to its own until the great revival after the close of the artificial period headed by Alexander Pope. The essayists, Addison and Steele, lead up to England's first great satirist, Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), whose "Gulliver's Travels" is entirely forgotten as a political lampoon, but is perennial as a tale. Conscious of the impending insanity which at last fell upon him, embittered by neglect and failure, he looms upon the horizon of English men of letters as the unhappiest of them all. With the "Robinson

Crusoe" of Daniel Defoe (1661-1731) and the famous "Pilgrim's Progress" of John Bunyan (1628-1688), the path was made straight for Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), the "Father of Modern Prose Fiction," his first book, "Pamela," being a masterpiece.

There is at once a curious likeness and unlikeness between Richardson and his successor, Henry Fielding (1707-1754), the first a plebeian, the second a patrician; the first stilted in description of noble life, but at home in his own class, the other presenting a wonderful picture of the court, but most unfair to the dependent populace. Yet both had an aggressive influence on the third of the school, Tobias George Smollet (1721-1771), whose "Roderick Random," "Peregrine Pickle" and "Humphrey Clinker," despite a good deal of indecency, bear comparison with other great novels in delineation of character.

Contemporaneous with this must be noted the sentimental school of Lawrence Sterne (1713-1771) with "Tristram Sandy" and "The Sentimental Journey," the former famous for its portraitures of Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim, and Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774), whose best prose work was the "Vicar of Wakefield," and a much lesser light, Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831), who is barely remembered by his first novel, "The Man of Feeling." The literary forgeries of Ossian and the Rowlie poems (McPherson and Chatterton) being passed by, the quiet morality of Maria Edgeworth, and the painstaking accuracy of Jane Austen being duly noted, the greatest romanticist of the world appears, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), poet as well as novelist.

The Waverley Novels are world-books, and while they are curiously uneven, all bear stamp of emperishability. Scott was poet as well as novelist, and the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," "Marmion" and "The Lady of the Lake" have an honored place, but it is especially for his novels that Scott was great, "Woodstock" "Ivanhoe," "The Talisman," "Quentin Durward" and "Kenilworth" being

the most popular. He very wrongly allowed the romanticists like the curiously influential Lord Byron (1788-1824), and even small men, to overshadow his verse.

The founder of a new school in the novel was Lytton Bulwer (1806-?) (often called Bulwer Lytton). He reflects curiously the development since Scott. The idiosyncrasies of the two national poets of Ireland and Scotland, Thomas Moore (1779-1852) and Robert Burns 1759-1796), can be noted in his work, and the two lyric geniuses, Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) and John Keats (1795-1821), left their mark upon him, tho he seems quietly to have passed by the convenient ballads of William Wordsworth (1770-1850) and the monotony of Robert Southey (1774-1843). The early works of Bulwer, "Pelham" and "Eugene Aram," are especially influenced by contemporaneous and earlier verse. But after his entrance to Parliament Bulwer gave his genius a wider scope and wrote "Rienzi" and "Last Days of Pompeii." Later he wrote "My Novel," which is perhaps his masterpiece, which, while not the most popular, best reveals his finished style.

Bulwer was a voluminous writer, but his genius was far inferior to that of the two great English modern novelists, Charles Dickens (1812-1870) and William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863). Dickens' first book, "Pickwick Papers," belongs to every man. No person with pretensions to information but is familiar with its characters, and the vogue of Dickens has been so great that not to have read all his works is a blot upon literary reputation.

Thackeray was a social philosopher who never wrote about people but about representatives of classes. Colonel Newcome is perhaps Thackeray's only living character, for even Becky Sharp in "Vanity Fair" is a group of charactristics rather than a person possessing those characteristics. The names of Charles Kingsley and George Eliot carry on the period of contemporaneous literature.

The contemporary novel in England has a few names that carry weight, and of these the chiefest is H. G. Wells. One has an equal privilege of hating Mr. Wells as of liking him, but there can be no doubt as to his size. Arnold Bennett's world is tiny, but he knows it thoroughly; Well's world is Gargantuan and he knows is passably well. That he cannot avoid preaching—and preaches more as he grows older—is unfortunate, but a great novelist often is measured by his influence, and it will be as impossible to forget Wells in the novel hereafter as it would be for a modern dramatist to ignore Ibsen. That Wells nearly always endeavors to handle more than the limits allow—as the hopelessly poor ending of "The World Set Free," shines out clearly by his success in smaller things such as "Mr. Polly." The realistic school, to which Mr. Wells thinks he belongs (in spite of his earlier works), is more truly carried out by Compton Mackenzie, Gissing and Bennett.

In every period, however, Romanticism will claim its rightful heritage, and the reader who does not know his Wm. J. Locke and his Joseph Conrad is as sadly to lack as the adventure lover who is ignorant of Rider Haggard, the swashbuckler disciple who has failed to know his Anthony Hope, his Stanley Weyman or his Mac Cutcheon, or the lover of fantasy who has passed by George MacDonald, George K. Chesterton and William Stephens.

The American novel of the twentieth century falls far below the English novel, just as the American short story is immeasurably the superior. Good novels are written by Richard Harding Davis, Mary Johnston, Winston Churchill, Owen Johnson, Theodore Dreiser, Rex Beach, Thomas Dixon, even to a hundred names. Only in one field does the American novel rise (and that is short story in its character) viz., the sunshine optimism form, the deliberate intention to be pleasing. This form is artificial, sentimental, overdone, pseudo-religious yet very joyous withal. To this school belong Alice Hegan Rice, Kathleen

Norris, Gene Stratton Porter, Frances Hodgson Burnett, and many others. The "best seller" note in these is no detriment to them, they are frankly written as books to please, not as works of art; the eye is to the market, not to the laurel wreath. The awful thought occurs: Is the market, then, a more powerful stimulus to American novelists than the laurel wreath? At least the short story is our work.

Historically, the short story begins not with the Fables of Æsop, for they are parables, nor with the Decameron of Boccaccio, for the stories therein are rather condensed romances, but rather with the "Gesta Romanorum" of unknown authorship, Gower's "Confessio Amantis," and Chaucer's "Canterbury's Tales." The first two collections named contain the larger number of all the good fourteenth century short stories in typical forms, Chaucer's work shows examples carried to the highest point of artistry.

The earliest forms were the "contes devots" or "devout tales," which were a French manner of telling miracle-stories. The best example in readable English in Chaucer's "Prioress Tale," which tells of a murdered lad who was miraculously able to reveal his whereabouts and to bring justice upon his murderers by continuing to sing to the Virgin Mary after his throat was cut.

Equally naive, and possessing even more charm was the "lai." Like the "conte dévot," the "lai" was Celtic, had its origin in Ireland and carried the fairy tale glamour into mediaeval Europe. In Chaucer, the "Wife of Bath's Tale" is a true "lai," where the fairy hag takes on a form of beauty for the knight who gives her power over him.

The third factor in the development of the short story, as exemplified by this first and greatest master, was the "fablau," a realistic "good story," often gross and sometimes frankly indecent, as many be seen in Chaucer's "The Miller's Tale" and "The Reeve's Tale." The importance

of this factor lay in the motivation usually taking its root in a satiric comment upon character and upon life.

Typically medieval and probably Teutonic was the beast-fable of which "The Fox and the Wolf" is the most famous. Henryson is even more a master of this form than Chaucer, and he possesses a mint of humor, but his English is crabbed and exceedingly hard to read.

A fifth type takes its place in the development of the short story, and this is the "novella," the precursor of the renaissance form. One of the modes of this was the "exempla" or illustrations which could be used in sermons. Of these there were vast collections. In Chaucer "The Pardoner's Tale" is such an "exempla," teaching its moral of the deathful sin of avarice.

With Chaucer to show what could be done, the short story should have advanced steadily, but instead, a century of silence followed, and then the "novella" was developed to the exclusion of the other type. This, however, lent itself to drama so readily that the Elizabethans seized it for this purpose, and what the dramatists did not use fell into the hands of the Euphuists who dressed and decorated it to death. In one example only—Aphra Behn's "Orvonoks" (1688)—the seventeenth century saw a worthy English short story.

The eighteenth century harked back to the "exempla" and Addison and Johnson brought in the short story again, mainly as an illustration to a more or less didactic and often dull essay. Hannah More, with more religion and less wit, showed how this form could be spoiled and her "Cheap Repositary Tracts" were as effective a means of slaughtering the eighteenth century type of short story as had been Lyly's "Euphues." Maria Edgeworth, indeed, tried to revive the "exemplum" in her "Moral Tales" in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

America can proudly boast of being the founder of the modern short story. In the decade between 1820 and 1830 Washington Irving took the romantic material of

his age, infused it with humor, treated it with a measure of classical style, and became the father of the modern form. "Rip Van Winkle" and the "Romance of Sleepy Hollow" may fairly be classed as the best of the work that inaugurated a new age. Still, his work was too classic for his public, he established no school, and stands alone, a solitary figure in America's literary history.

There is a curious belief abroad that Poe was a meteor in the world of letters, that he devised the matter as well as the form of his tales of horror. Nothing could be further from truth. Poe's materials were not only not new, they were the hackneyed themes of an age of decadent romanticism, but Poe was a marvelous master of the craft of suspense and spared no pains to make every incident, every word, indeed, lead to the climax.

The detective story owes its origin to Poe. "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" is the forerunner of Gaboriau, of Sherlock Holmes, of Arsene Lupin. Even Robert Louis Stevenson owes more to "The Gold Bug" than he would have cared to own. Modern writers have improved upon Poe, but his is the foundation on which they build.

Contemporaneous with Poe in point of time but far in advance in point of development was Nathaniel Hawthorne. "Rappaccini's Daughter" and "Ethan Brand" still show the love of the horrible that Poe had carried to its utmost height, but they also show a perception of romantic narrative and instead of a pictured horrible or an allegory, he chose the story, though even there, he could not quite avoid preachments. Each of these two masters had but one worthy disciple, Fitz-James O'Brien, whose "What Was It?" is worthy of Poe; and Edward Everett Hale, whose "The Man Without a Country" is as Hawthornesque in its moral note as it is ill-constructed in its emotional unbalance.

By contrast, some of the work of Dickens approaches the short story, and "The Cricket on the Hearth" may take rank among the best. Mrs. Gaskell's "Cousin Phil-

lis" is perhaps the only other short story in England worthy of mention until the effulgence of Rudyard Kipling appears on the horizon.

The flood of the short story belongs to America. Three tales have made one man great. These are "The Luck of Roaring Camp," "The Outcasts of Poker Flat" and "Tennessee's Partner," and the name of Bret Harte is imperishably blazoned in literature. They are sentimental, they are over-colored, they are Victorian—that worst of opprobrious terms—but they are none the less great. Bret Harte once and for all made his local color the *deus ex machina* of his story. Any one of the three mentioned is not only American, it is blaringly Californian.

This discovery led to the utilization by writers of every nook and corner where geographic isolation had perpetuated local characteristics. The French and racial tangles of Louisiana produced Geo. W. Cable's "Old Creole Days." Thomas Nelson Page used "In Ole Virginia," Sarah Orme Jewett exploits the Maine coast, Mary Wilkins-Freeman in her "A Humble Romance" reveals New England, and Margaret Deland has made "Old Chester Tales" redolent of western Pennsylvania. The short story of local color in the twentieth century has scarcely degenerated, but it has become swamped with mediocrity. It would be invidious to give names.

In Henry James is a different branching of the short story, the psychological variety. "The Madonna of the Future" is an early example of a style which, in "The Turn of the Screw," became an unpleasant pathological exhibition. Almost as great a figure as Henry James, one of the most compelling writers of the day is Edith Wharton, also a psychologist in type.

The late nineteenth century developed two masters of the short story worthy of rank with Poe and Hawthorne, and coming later in the development, better craftsmen. The first of these is Robert Louis Stevenson and his best known short story is "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." "A

Lodging for the Night," though less well known, is greater. Stevenson's is the work of the finished artist and the reader of slap-dash is apt to miss the flavor.

Rudyard Kipling was the second of the great masters. He ran riot with local color, but showed himself in control of his vivid splashes; he emphasized and re-emphasized and then underscored some more, but there was always something worth emphasizing. Some of his short stories will be classed among the greatest. For local color nothing can rival "The Hunting of Kaa," for psychology and charm "The Brushwood Boy" is perennial, for adventure and grip "The Man Who Would Be King" is likely to be long without a peer. He has a host of imitators, some occasionally good, such as Jack London in his earlier work, but most of his is machine-made for the ten and fifteen cent magazines. Only Ambrose Bierce stands fiercely apart.

America's latest master was O. Henry, but it is scarcely fair to class him as a short-story writer, he was rather a sketch-writer. Class characteristics are his plane, and like many another writer of to-day—Montague Glass may be named as an example—he depends on the extrinsic interest rather than the intrinsic interest of the subject. In England the delightful W. W. Jacobs still writes of coastwise life. Of good shipshape shore stories the magazines are full—a list might easily include a hundred names, but none of these are great. If it be asked why, the answer is easy. The reading public wants journalism and will read Gouverneur Morris or Geo. Randolph Chester rather than such gems as Booth Tarkington's "Monsieur Beaucaire," or an occasional "best" of Richard Harding Davis.

To discriminate and evatuate among the short stories of today is as impossible as it would be foolish. The dust must settle first. There is no denying that the second decade of the twentieth century has given fewer good short stories than the first decade, and this again

fewer than the last decade of the nineteenth century. The novel is steadily advancing, and the short story declining. From Washington Irving to O. Henry is almost a century during which that American has led the world in the art of the short story. Who can tell where the oriflamme of the United States may lead the world in the century to come?